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General Petrov on Chemical Weapon Destruction

LD0608204990 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT
6 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Under the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination and nonproduction of chemical weapons and on measures to promote a multilateral conventions on the full ban of chemical weapons, the two sides will begin to destroy chemical weapons not later than December 31, 1992, Colonel General Stanislav Petrov, commander of Soviet chemical troops, told the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

"Fifty percent of all chemical weapon stocks will be destroyed in each country by the year 1999. This will mean 20,000 tonnes of toxic agents for the Soviet Union and 15,000 tonnes for the United States.

"By the year 2002, not later than December 31, the two countries undertake to reach the minimum level of stocks—5,000 tonnes on each side," he said.

The difference of 10,000 tonnes accounts for Soviet stocks of chemical weapons accumulated in the pre-war and war-time years. They are morally and physically obsolescent in the light of modern requirements, Petrov pointed out.

"The Soviet Union and the United States have parity as regards modern toxic agents—30,000 tonnes on each side. Way back in 1987 the Soviet Union officially announced a unilateral termination of the production of chemical weapons. The United States still continues to produce chemical weapons, moreover, a particularly dangerous variety of them—binary rounds.

"A draft state programme for the elimination of chemical weapons, the programme which is under consideration in the USSR Supreme Soviet, envisages five versions for the elimination of toxic agents.

"The versions differ from one another in amounts of toxic agents, in locations for the construction of disposal facilities, in capital investments and, respectively, by periods from the beginning to completion of the neutralisation of toxic agents.

"Only after the Soviet Parliament makes a decision to this effect, it will be possible to begin talks with local authorities and the population on the construction of chemical weapons disposal facilities.

"Expenses for the elimination will in many respects surpass expenditures for the development of the weapons," Petrov said.

Problems in Chemical Arms Destruction Pondered

PM0608135590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts under the rubric "World Today: Problems, Opinions": "Difficult Start in Klausen"]

[Excerpts] A convoy of 80 heavy U.S. Army trucks traveled 30 miles 26 July—from the village of Klausen to the Army dump in Mizau [name as transliterated] in West Germany's Rhineland Palatinate. This convoy, quite commonplace at first glance—lots of U.S. vehicles travel around West Germany—attracted attention not only in the FRG but also throughout the world. After all, the 15-tonne containers were carrying extremely dangerous freight—chemical weapons. [passage omitted]

Thus, we are talking about a measure that is making an important contribution to the strengthening of European security. But here is a paradox. One would have thought that members of the antiwar movements—those people who have fought year in and year out to eliminate the chemical weapons dumps on FRG territory—should be pleased. But that has not been the case. On the contrary, a number of public organizations and Bundestag deputies have begun to protest and demand a legal ban on the war gas shipments. What is at issue here? Alarm for the safety of people in densely populated areas has given rise to the idea that it is better not to touch the chemical weapons dumps at all.

This is despite the fact that mega-strict security measures have been taken and are being implemented with Teutonic thoroughness. The first convoy was escorted by 1,200 policemen, along with several hundred Bundeswehr servicemen and U.S. military specialists. All the roads along the route were closed and even aircraft flights were banned. But hundreds of trees have been uprooted in Mizau. The organizers of the operation even intend to rule out the possibility of some moldering tree falling down.

It is not only people in the FRG, TIME magazine reports, but also the authorities in Micronesia, New Zealand, Western Samoa, and the U.S. state of Hawaii that are displaying alarm. After all, estimates submitted by the U.S. Army show that, if there is an accident while the weapons are in transit at sea, the water within a radius of at least 84 km will be subjected to chemical contamination. The governor of Hawaii also doubts the safety of the plant destroying the chemical munitions. He has demanded 16-month tests on the entire complex.

As we can see, there are a considerable number of problems. It is quite possible that they will increase during the operation. However, it is a question of eliminating barely one-hundredth of all U.S. war gas stocks. At present another seven facilities, similar to the Johnston complex, are under construction.

I suspect that when it comes to the point of eliminating chemical weapons in the USSR, we will have the same

number of problems and protests. The fate of the Chapayevsk complex is convincing evidence of this. No one likes "chemical death," but nor does anyone want these weapons to be destroyed in their back yard. We should probably assess most attentively the operation being carried out by the Americans. It is particularly important that the U.S. and FRG military authorities have decided in this difficult situation to lift the veil of total secrecy and have tried to persuade the public that all safety measures have been taken in reality, rather than just verbally.

The beginning of the withdrawal of chemical weapons from FRG territory also makes one think about more general questions. Namely how complex the disarmament process is. After all, when we talked about problems previously, we were primarily referring to the difficulties involved in elaborating various agreements. However, it is now obvious that even consensus at talks and the signing of various documents are only part of the process. The implementation of these agreements requires organizational steps and financial means—quite considerable ones at that. Thus the elimination of chemical weapons has already forced us to develop new

technologies for the construction of special capacities. All this runs into billions of dollars and rubles.

We cannot avoid this expense. The situation today is such that we are simply unable to freeze USSR and U.S. chemical arsenals and leave them until better times come along. The two countries' decision to eliminate chemical substances should be an incentive and example to other states. Mankind is increasingly distinctly encountering the possibility of chemical weapons being used in regional conflicts. Suffice it to recall the Iran-Iraq war and Iraq's and Israel's reciprocal threats. All this compels us to make haste.

There is often talk today of the "peace dividend"—that is, the money that has been saved as a result of disarmament and will be spent on people's needs. These discussions have generated considerable illusions. The world will, of course, obtain these dividends. Not in the next few years, only in the long term. At present we have to spend and spend in order to eliminate the material base of military confrontation and remove the threat of annihilation from mankind.

There will still be considerable difficulties and sacrifices. But the business of disarmament must progress.

United States & Canada

U.S., Soviets Take Steps Against Baghdad

PM0608173190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

["Political Diary" by Stanislav Kondrashov: "Together Against the Aggressor"]

[Text] The Irkutsk meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and J. Baker unexpectedly extended into last Friday at Vnukovo-2 Airport, demonstrating that Soviet-U.S. collaboration is not an empty phrase with regard to a sudden critical situation. The two powers have taken a united stand against the Iraqi aggression in Kuwait. Each power—in a joint statement, moreover—has brought its most effective weapon to bear at this stage. The United States has frozen Iraq's—and also Kuwait's—bank assets because from its capital, Kuwait City, the State of Kuwait is now acting at someone else's bidding—that of the "free government" set up there by Baghdad. Responding to a U.S. request, the Soviet Union froze its arms shipments to Iraq. According to Western assessments, approximately four-fifths of Iraqi arms are of Soviet manufacture. Two other major suppliers—France and the PRC—later took the same stance.

Iraq has a population roughly ten times the size of Kuwait—and it has 50 times more soldiers. When Soviet shipments come to an end its million-strong army (for 17 million Iraqis) will not lose its edge over the neighbor which it has overwhelmed by armed aggression. But Moscow's step is not only of practical but also of political significance. We are taking the side of the victim of aggression, although the Soviet Union still has a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation with Iraq dating back to the era of East-West global confrontation. Our economic ties are quite extensive—dozens of economic facilities have been erected on Iraqi territory with aid from Soviet specialists. It was not for nothing that Baker expressed a high opinion of the Soviet step, saying that it was hard for Moscow, considering its relations with Baghdad.

As for freezing bank assets, the United States has been joined by its allies in Western Europe and Japan, which has also suspended its economic programs in Iraq. The Americans are working on even tougher sanctions, which could be adopted by the UN Security Council, such as a blockade, including an end to procurements of Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil—the latter has ended up in Iraqi hands—and to sales of any products and commodities to Iraq. The purpose of this strategy, which as yet rules out armed action, is to show Iraq's "strong man," President Saddam Husayn, that he has ultimately lost more than he has gained by occupying Kuwait.

To each his own, as the saying goes. To each state its own, including its rulers. Iraq has developed the most powerful military muscle in the Arab East, it is a regional military superpower. But its economy has been allowed to fall into neglect for precisely that reason, and its foreign debt totals something in the order of \$80 billion.

From its oil Kuwait has derived not a gigantic military machine but an enviable prosperity and a far higher per capita income than in Iraq—large capital investments abroad (ranging between \$100 billion and \$300 billion, according to various estimates) indicate its wealth and connections with the West. Some envied them in an amicable way, others bore a grudge. In a few hours the oasis of prosperity was captured, the emir fled to Saudi Arabia, and Iraqi tanks were stationed on Kuwait City's quayside pointing their guns toward the Persian Gulf. This produced waves of panic on the Western stock exchanges: Saddam Husayn had gotten the keys to the world's richest oil kingdom.

The Soviet Union has suffered little economic loss from the change in the situation. Apart from potential credit from rich Kuwait, not yet fully realized, in addition to a few hundred million dollars obtained comparatively recently. At first glance we could even gain economically, since world oil prices have begun to rise sharply and, consequently, our meager hard-currency receipts could increase.

However, it would be the height of cynicism, political short-sightedness, and wastefulness to derive this kind of benefit. Our decisive response indicates that Soviet policy is determined by other—international-legal and moral—considerations. And by wider economic considerations. The Soviet-U.S. collaboration proclaimed at Vnukovo-2 is founded on the two countries' adherence to the UN Charter and on their duties as permanent members of the UN Security Council, which right away advocated an end to the aggression and the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops.

Baker correctly pointed out that the United States and the USSR no longer regard world problems from the East-West angle, or more precisely from the angle of confrontation. Their collaboration intensifies the UN peacemaking potential. The world organization is no longer split into two camps, and this has deprived some "Third World" states of the opportunity to play on contradictions and enmity between the nuclear powers for their own ends. Now that the two powers have so ostentatiously acted hand in hand against Iraq's actions, the United Nations can act in a more resolute and coordinated fashion.

The Arab world is still fragmented. Iraq's neighbors are looking at Iraq warily. Some are rather afraid while others, like Libya, applaud Iraq for giving short shrift to an Arab state that looked pro-Western. However, coinciding U.S. and Soviet positions encourage sober, moderate forces even in the Arab world.

If we return to the question of gains and losses, of course, what has happened involves great losses for the West. As the main Western power the United States will suffer not only as a result of the deteriorating world oil situation but also as regards its military-strategic positions. Pro-Western Kuwait has disappeared. Iraq is lordling it in the Persian Gulf, and the threat looms of an attack on Saudi

Arabia—America's main ally in the Arab world. Washington is hastily increasing its naval presence in the region and keeping its options open, including the use of armed forces. The choice will depend on how events develop, on Baghdad's reaction to present political and economic pressure.

On the one hand, rationality is not a predominant feature in dictatorial regimes, which may persist in continuing their brigandage even if it stops paying off. On the other, it is hard to imagine the West's tolerating the disappearance of Kuwait or the emergence of a quasi-Kuwait at someone else's bidding. Clearly, the Soviet Union will by no means automatically agree to everything that people in Washington may do, but right now it is not hampering their freedom of action by failing to determine in advance the point at which our positions may cease to coincide.

And again with regard to the economic aspect of the matter. We would possibly also stand to gain from an increase in oil prices. Tactically. But strategically we would lose out by pandering to an aggressor. Our strategy lies in integrating ourselves into the world economy. The lofty criteria of civilized political behavior are the entrance ticket.

Shevardnadze-Baker Irkutsk Talks Assessed

Mutual Interests Discussed

PM0408145390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA diplomatic correspondent M. Yusin: "From Mutual Understanding to Interaction. Results of the Meeting in Irkutsk Between the USSR Foreign Minister and the U.S. Secretary of State"]

[Text] Irkutsk-Moscow—No historic decisions were adopted during the talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze in Irkutsk during the first two days in August. Contrary to the expectations harbored by numerous American and Soviet journalists who had flown to the banks of the Angara from Moscow with Shevardnadze and from Singapore with Baker, there were no sensations either. Unlike the correspondents, both the participants in the talks were, in all probability, satisfied with the results of their Irkutsk round of talks.

Shevardnadze calculated that the ministers spent almost 10 hours at the negotiating table during these two days. "We made very effective use of this time. We had a useful exchange of opinions. Both I and, I hope, the secretary of state are happy with the results of these consultations," the Soviet minister said at the close of the meeting. Baker subscribed to what he said.

What is behind this assessment, what problems gave rise to the most constructive dialogue? A few days before the meeting IZVESTIYA outlined a range of suggested subjects and, as the course of the talks showed, was not

mistaken. All the problems that we wrote about at the end of last week were discussed in Irkutsk, namely disarmament, economic cooperation between the two countries, Afghanistan, Cambodia, German unity, and the schedule and agenda for the future meeting between the Soviet and U.S. presidents.... There were no surprises in this respect.

There was, perhaps, only one thing that came as something of a surprise for journalists and merited their special attention. News agencies singled out as top news Shevardnadze's statement that as of 1 January 1991 the Soviet Union is abandoning its production of rail-mobile missiles (referring to the SS-24's). Baker welcomed this step, admittedly pointing out that Washington cannot reciprocate: The reason being that the United States does not have rail-mobile missiles. He indicated that, despite the Soviet initiative, the United States has no intention as yet of changing its position at the strategic arms limitation talks.

Another important result of the talks was the announcement of the dates for the ministers' next meeting—12 and 13 September in Moscow. (No one then knew that there would be another—emergency—meeting in connection with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait). The next round of talks between the "Six" foreign ministers on German unity will be held in the Soviet capital 12 September. Following this the secretary of state will stay on a day in the USSR during which fundamental talks will take place.

This visit will be unusual: Baker plans to bring with him a large delegation of economists and entrepreneurs. U.S. Secretary of Commerce R. Mosbacher will also come on the trip. M.S. Gorbachev will meet with the American delegation by prior agreement.

The guests will discuss with Soviet partners specific cooperation projects and the possibilities of U.S. aid for the USSR. Major contracts that were discussed on a preliminary basis during Baker's and Shevardnadze's previous meeting in Paris and now in Irkutsk are expected to be signed as a result of the visit. Although economists are, of course, to have the deciding say—in a month's time in Moscow. At the moment Soviet and American proposals in the sphere of bilateral cooperation are still being discussed by experts.

What regional problems attracted most attention from the ministers? The draft final document with which journalists have been acquainted ranked the German question first—in my view, this was not quite justified. At any rate the Irkutsk talks will not have a place in history as a result of any major achievements in resolving the German problem—there were none. There simply could not have been at a Soviet-U.S. meeting without the participation of representatives from Germany—the main interested party. The opinion that the Soviet foreign minister voiced in Irkutsk is of interest in view of the coming talks between the "Six." Shevardnadze reckons that the Moscow "two-plus-four" meeting

(the fourth of the scheduled six) will prove to be the last—all the most important agreements will be able to be concluded there.

On the eve of the talks in Irkutsk many people predicted that Afghanistan would be the main topic and that there would quite possibly be an "historic" breakthrough on this question. In making this prediction, commentators were proceeding on the premise that President Najibullah is in the Soviet Union and that his arrival, by no means accidentally, virtually coincided with the beginning of the Baker-Shevardnadze talks. Najibullah was expected to hold consultations with the USSR president on the eve of the Irkutsk talks, after which Shevardnadze would fly out to his meeting with Baker with concrete options for a settlement that had been coordinated with the Afghan leader.

However, the expected talks between Najibullah and Gorbachev did not take place. Admittedly, some U.S. journalists with whom I spoke in Irkutsk do not trust Moscow' official silence. They have voiced the supposition that the meeting did take place but that the decision it reached was kept secret for some reason. Despite its originality this version is not convincing. A few years ago this "megasecrecy" on the USSR's part would have been no surprise to anyone. But today it is hard to believe. Especially since the course and results of the discussion of the Afghan problem in Irkutsk confirm that there was no preliminary discussion with Najibullah.

As for talks between the Soviet and Afghan presidents, they will presumably take place in the near future. Possibly next week even—hot on the heels of the Irkutsk meeting, which has enabled the Americans' position to be cleared up.

Everything indicates that the discussion with Najibullah will not be easy. According to certain data, the Afghan president reacted unenthusiastically to some aspects of the Soviet proposals for settling the conflict in his country which were submitted—the U.S. press claims—a few weeks ago in New York by Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR permanent UN representative and former ambassador in Kabul.

What impressive arguments will Moscow find to demonstrate the attractiveness of its initiatives to the head of a friendly regime? Presumably one of the arguments will be this: The Soviet economy can no longer withstand the burden of spending many million of rubles to back the Kabul government. As a result Najibullah will be faced with a dilemma—he can either continue the war, without the former Soviet supplies, or he can agree to a compromise, and give up some of his presidential powers during the preparatory period before the elections (including his control over the army, special services, and mass media) to the election commission made up of representatives of various parties, and operating under UN control....

Of course, this is only guesswork. Will these guesses be correct? These and many other questions may soon be answered.

In Irkutsk the talk mainly turned to the procedure for free elections in Afghanistan. In particular the United States and the USSR agreed that the United Nations must play a key role in preparing and holding these elections. It was decided that groups of Soviet and U.S. experts will begin the discussion of the Afghan issue. Baker pointed out that the main problem is whether Moscow and Washington will be able to influence their allies' position in Afghanistan and persuade them to back the peace accords that may be prepared in the near future.

Speaking at the final news conference an hour before his flight back to Moscow, the Soviet minister said that it was in Irkutsk that he drew an important conclusion: Henceforth the USSR and the United States have ceased to regard one another as enemies not only in Europe but also in Asia. "East-West rivalry may be considered an outmoded stereotype, inapplicable to the current situation. This enables us to take a new look at the problems of the region," Shevardnadze said. He returned to this subject once more during a conversation with journalists on board the aircraft. "Of late," the minister pointed out, "we have been successful in putting into effect a new principle in Soviet-U.S. relations, a principle that was formulated for the first time last year in Wyoming—from mutual understanding to interaction."

The discussion of the Cambodian problem at the Irkutsk and previous meetings was proof of the effectiveness of this principle. In Shevardnadze's opinion, the prospect of a settlement is already emerging clearly—in many respects thanks to Soviet-U.S. efforts. It is an interesting fact that Cambodia has become one of the few "hot-spots" where Washington has advanced further along the path of compromise and change in its initial position than Moscow. Shevardnadze once again recalled the United States' recent decision to stop backing Pol Pot's supporters in the United Nations and to begin dialogue with Vietnam. The minister stressed that the Soviet Union welcomes the evolution of the U.S. position.

Another thing drew our attention at the news conference. Baker wondered why Moscow and Washington have over the last few years been finding a common language with increasing frequency in their approach to regional conflicts. He suggested an interesting explanation: With the advent of perestroika the Kremlin's view of the principle of free elections has changed. In this respect the USSR has drawn closer to the United States—as a result the sides have agreed to resolve regional problems by means of the will of a particular country's people. Thus, the settlements in Namibia and Nicaragua have become possible. Likewise the path to a cessation of the wars in Cambodia and Afghanistan is emerging. In Eastern Europe it was democratic elections that enabled an explosive situation to be defused. A universal method, finally acknowledged by the Soviet Union, has proved most effective.

In response to a direct question from journalists as to whether Cuba (which was not mentioned in the final

communiqué) was discussed during the Irkutsk talks the secretary of state admitted that this topic was indeed discussed. During the flight I asked Shevardnadze the context in which Cuba had figured in his conversation with Baker. "In the context of the settlement in El Salvador and the dialogue between this country's government and the partisans," the minister replied.

I think that it is worth listing other topics that were broached in Irkutsk: namely, the Horn of Africa, Southern Africa, Central America (there is every indication that it was not only Cuba and El Salvador), Korea, and the Indo-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir....

Along with another subject—Soviet-Japanese relations and, more specifically, the question of the northern territories. Shevardnadze told Baker that, in Moscow's view, the declaration adopted on this problem by the leaders of the "Seven" in Houston does not facilitate progress in resolving the territorial dispute between Japan and the Soviet Union. (The statement spoke of support for Japan's demand for the return of the islands seized by the Soviet Army at the end of World War II). In Shevardnadze's opinion, the problem concerns Tokyo and Moscow alone and must not be put forward for international discussion. How did Baker react when the Soviet minister said this? The minister gave the following diplomatic answer when asked this question by journalists during the flight: "There was no debate."

Shevardnadze gave no precise date for the coming meeting between the Soviet and U.S. presidents. According to him, this will be determined by two things. The first is how rapidly the two countries' diplomats succeed in preparing the documents to be signed in Moscow. The presidents' talks should not start before this has been done. "We do not need vacuous meetings," Shevardnadze said in this connection. The second thing is that a great deal will depend on the presidents' work schedule. It is hard to tell as yet when they will be able to find a few days to meet one another.

Nonetheless I will take the risk of giving what I see as the most likely date. There is a great deal of evidence in favor of the Moscow summit's taking place this December—after the Paris meeting between the heads of the CSCE states and governments.

I cannot help but mention something else that merits attention. Soon (probably in mid-August) FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher will come to Moscow for talks with Shevardnadze, along with (possibly) his French counterpart, R. Dumas. During his conversation with journalists on the way back Shevardnadze lifted the "embargo" on this information, which was originally given off the record.

The main emphasis at the talks with Genscher will not be on German unification, unlike previous meetings—but on developing bilateral economic cooperation and German aid for perestroika.

The Iraqi attack on Kuwait was the last subject broached by the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers. The discussion occurred literally during the last few minutes before departure. The news agencies' first announcement that Iraqi troops had crossed the Kuwaiti border came at 1110 hours Irkutsk time (0610 hours in Moscow). It was just a matter of minutes before the secretary of state's aircraft flew off to the Mongolian capital (the last stage of his visit)....

The takeoff was held up roughly 40 minutes. Baker and Shevardnadze had a brief exchange of opinions. Agencies have cited what the secretary of state said: "Shevardnadze reacted with grief to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait." Baker told journalists accompanying him on the flight that he had asked the Soviet minister to stop military aid to Iraq.

I must admit that I had to recall this entire series of events in retrospect—in Moscow, by studying reports from agencies and by telephoning the Foreign Ministry. The point is that the day before in Irkutsk journalists knew nothing of Baker's last conversation with Shevardnadze or even about the Iraqi troops' invasion. We only found this out when the minister's Il-62 landed in Moscow. Therefore the most topical question was not mentioned during our conversation with Shevardnadze on board the airliner. Only the minister and his close advisers knew of the war that had started. Journalists were left in ignorance.

Everything indicates that Shevardnadze preferred not to put us in the know since the first hour's information was scrappy and the picture had not fully emerged. It was probably for that selfsame reason that he did not have a thorough discussion with Baker.

By the evening of 2 August the situation had become clear inasmuch as another meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers became necessary. It will be held on Friday evening in Moscow—at the government airport "Vnukovo-2." Baker will have to make a six-hour detour from Ulaanbaatar to the Soviet capital. But the situation is so critical that there is no other way out. A joint statement is expected on the results of the conversation.

Talks Assume 'Global Character'

PM0508132790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

[Commentary by Manki Ponomarev under the rubric: "From Observer's Viewpoint": "Quest on the Banks of the Angara"]

[Text] If one is to try to use one word to describe the essential nature of the talks between E.A. Shevardnadze and J. Baker during their latest meeting 1 and 2 August, I think that it can be said to be a quest. A quest for approaches to the solution of problems which determine

the agenda for relations between our countries and often far exceed the framework of these relations, assuming a truly global character.

The fact that the meeting took place in Irkutsk, undoubtedly, facilitated the in-depth examination of the questions under discussion in the course of the meeting. Places like that are very convenient for serious and informal talks—less time is spent on protocol, it is easier to establish a businesslike, working atmosphere. An opportunity presented itself, perhaps the first in a long time, to thoroughly discuss a great deal relating to the sphere of security and development in Asia and the Pacific, and to concentrate on such regional problems as the Afghan and Cambodian problems, the situation on the Korean peninsula, and a number of others.

Until recently the sides regarded all these questions from confrontational positions, from the viewpoint of military confrontation and attempts to, so to speak, "score points" off one another. But times are changing. Probably not always as quickly as we would like, but they are definitely changing. This time the basis of the analysis of the situation was the reiteration of the political affirmation made at the top level that the USSR and the United States do not regard one another as military adversaries. Soviet-American cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region will henceforth be geared to promoting stability, cooperation, and prosperity in all the states of the region and is intended to bring about a normalization of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

I am unable here to relate everything agreed by the participants in the meeting in the Siberian city on the banks of the Angara. Nor is there any need for me to do so—a detailed communique has already been published. But there are essential elements which will, without doubt, be of major significance—and not only for our peoples either.

First I am referring to the accord regarding the most speedy attainment of an intra-Afghan settlement.

Before the meeting in Irkutsk a number of foreign press organs published a considerable number of reports on this subject. France's *LIBERATION*, for instance, wrote the following: "The two superpowers obviously want to find a way out of the conflict inherited from another era, a kind of 'cold war' relic. Bemused by the military failures suffered by the divided opposition," the newspaper continued, "the Americans should have waived their ambitions. Contrary to their hopes Najibullah stood his ground and strengthened his position."

Realism is, certainly, taking the place of ambition. The United States has made a concession and agreed to Najibullah's retaining his role during the transitional period for which both sides acknowledge the need. Free and fair elections must be held in Afghanistan under UN auspices taking local traditions into account. A representative coordinating body created for this purpose could handle the organizational work involved in preparing for these elections.

The quest for ways to secure an intra-Afghan settlement is not yet over. But the main guidelines have already been mapped out. The war that has tortured the Afghan people for 12 years and created acute tension in the very heart of Asia is finally nearing an end.

The ideas mapped out for a Cambodian settlement are also of tremendous significance. The Soviet Union welcomed the recent changes in the U.S. position on this question and the end to U.S. support for UN representation for the so-called "coalition government," in which Pol Pot's supporters play a leading role. This has created a new situation and revealed a chance to settle the Cambodian problem by means of the speediest convocation of the Supreme National Council and by all countries' putting a stop to arms shipments to all the warring sides.

It was not of course only Asia-Pacific and other regional problems that were discussed in Irkutsk. The whole spectrum of Soviet-U.S. relations was examined. Opinions were exchanged on the external aspects of building German unity. The sides pointed out the importance of the preparations for the CSCE summit in Paris and of embarking most speedily on the elaboration of a joint Warsaw Pact-NATO declaration on establishing relations of partnership and mutual understanding between them.

There was a persistent quest for solutions to problems of arms cuts and limitation. Definite progress was made in connection with the preparation of a strategic offensive arms treaty. I will cite just one result: The USSR has decided to stop production of rail-mobile ICBM's in 1991. Difficulties regarding the talks on conventional Armed Forces in Europe, particularly with regard to the deadlock on aviation cuts, were also discussed.

Everything that was done in Irkutsk and that will be done at future talks between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state—their next round of talks is scheduled for mid-September—can be viewed as preparatory work for fresh Soviet-U.S. summit meetings. One may be held during the meeting of the CSCE countries' representatives in Paris. There will also be a meeting in Moscow at which it is intended to sign the strategic offensive arms treaty.

Soviet-U.S. dialogue is continuing. Not everything is going smoothly. Many factors affect relations between the two countries—past stereotypes have still not been completely eradicated, the situation in various regions of the world is changing rapidly, complex internal problems in both the USSR and the United States have a very major influence on foreign policy. Joint questing sometimes fails to produce the anticipated result. But this quest is under way and, as Irkutsk has demonstrated, may produce tangible weighty results. It must not be stopped.

Baker, Shevardnadze Exchange Telephone Calls

*LD0708081690 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 0730 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker yesterday telephoned USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze; they talked for 30 minutes. This has been reported by the U.S. State Department. Its official spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said that they discussed the situation concerning Kuwait as well as the vote at the United Nations, and they agreed that a vote on the issue should be achieved rapidly. In her words, the secretary of state's telephone call was in response to a letter from the Soviet minister received over the weekend in the context of the accord to maintain contacts which had been reached in Moscow by the two countries' foreign ministry heads.

Bush Outlines Main Foreign Policy Objectives

*PM0608154990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 5*

[TASS report under the "Abroad" rubric: "The World Is Entering a New Era"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Aug—U.S. President George Bush set out the main avenues of the administration's foreign and military policy in the coming years, speaking on Thursday at the Aspen Institute (Colorado). He devoted a considerable proportion of his speech to the profound changes in the USSR and to problems of U.S.-Soviet relations. "The Soviet Union," the chief of the White House indicated, "is in the process of political and economic transformations which have entailed unprecedented glasnost—a process which, on the one hand, inspires so many hopes and, on the other hand—let's be frank—is filled with uncertainty."

G. Bush said that the United States has entered an "extremely important phase of its relations with the Soviet Union." He said that he had spoken with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who held "extremely positive talks with USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze" in Irkutsk. "My conversations with President Gorbachev were also open and honest," the President went on. "All problems were discussed at the negotiating table. We are not evading complex problems. That is the key to the success with which we have hitherto been blessed. That is how we intend to continue to narrow the sphere of our existing differences and make use of this historic opportunity to help create a lasting peace."

The President voiced the opinion that the Soviet leader "now realizes that we do not have the slightest intention of threatening his country." He added that the conversations at Camp David helped to achieve this progress. "I was frank with Gorbachev and told him that, despite all the positive changes that we have seen, the Soviet Union is still a top-ranking world military power," G. Bush went on. "The USSR will still have two to three million men under arms even after the conventional

arms cuts on which we are now holding talks. Undoubtedly, the fact that the Soviet Union is still keeping and modernizing its strategic arms arsenals is of paramount concern to us."

The chief of the White House stressed that the "cold war" is becoming a thing of the past and the world is entering a new era. The threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe, he pointed out, is more remote today than ever before in the postwar period. In this connection, the military strategy and the structure of Armed Forces that were necessary to ensure peace can and must change, he said. The numerical strength of the U.S. Armed Forces can also be reduced in a world which is now less burdened with a direct threat to Europe and with the danger of global war. "By 1995 our security may be guaranteed by Armed Forces 25-percent smaller than today's Armed Forces," the administration head indicated. At the same time he pointed out that "safeguarding important U.S. interests in Europe, the Pacific, the Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf" remains "an inalienable element of our strategy."

Noting that the United States and its allies welcome the Soviet Union's new chosen course, G. Bush said the following: "However, prudence requires us to keep effective forces for deterrence." The President advocated retaining and pursuing a number of costly Pentagon programs. "We must develop the splendid prospects of SDI and deploy this system when it is ready," G. Bush stressed. "Despite the modification in the Soviet threat, the world is still a dangerous place, where there are still serious threats to important U.S. interests," the President pointed out in conclusion. "As we have seen in the last 24 hours, these threats can arise suddenly and unpredictably.... U.S. interests can only be protected if we have a potential that can be used immediately."

U.S. Senate Approves New Intelligence Budget

*LD0708105190 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT
7 Aug 90*

[Text] Washington 7 August (TASS)—The U.S. Senate has approved the allocation of some \$30 billion for the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defence Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and the National Reconnaissance Office, in the new fiscal year, beginning on October 1. Money allocated for specific items in the intelligence budget are not disclosed.

This year, a total of some \$25 billion was allocated for intelligence. According to the U.S. press, the increase resulted from a reorientation and broadening of activities, ensuing changes in the world. More attention is being paid to electronic and space intelligence and the creation of new equipment to collect information.

The collection of economic information on the activities of foreign financial, trade and industrial companies and protection of the most up-to-date U.S. technologies from

foreign competitors have become priorities. U.S. intelligence will deal not only with traditional targets, but also with many U.S. allies and developing countries.

U.S. intelligence networks abroad will be enlarged, first and foremost in East European countries, the Middle East and the Asia-Pacific region, where, U.S. intelligence institutions believe, crisis situations are possible. Agents in these countries should monitor the implementation of intergovernmental agreements, fighting terrorism and drug trafficking.

The United States "intelligence budget" is used not only to collect intelligence, but also to support foreign anti-government groups and subversive activities abroad.

On 28 June, a select Senate committee on intelligence decided to halt its aid to the armed opposition in Cambodia. Committee members voted also to slash by a third the administration's request to allocate \$300 million to the Afghan rebels.

According to the AP news agency, the committee put off a final decision on allocations for secret operations until September, hoping that it will be possible by then to settle the situation in Cambodia, Afghanistan and Angola by peaceful means.

The fate of the intelligence budget will be decided in autumn when Congress resumes work.

Launch of Rockets From U.S. Space Center Denied

PM0408165790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Aug 90 Morning Edition p2

[Unattributed report: "INTERFAX Interview With Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology Spokesman"]

[Text] During a conversation with an INTERFAX correspondent Dmitriy Poletayev, USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology department chief, denied certain Western mass media reports that the Soviet Union has asked the United States via intermediaries to permit Soviet "Proton" rockets to be launched from the U.S. Cape Canaveral space center. They cited an article published in the ORLANDO SENTINEL paper. D. Poletayev said that the USSR has never made suggestions of this kind to the United States. The American journalist was rather indulging in wishful thinking. At the same time the Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology spokesmen expressed a desire to broaden USSR-U.S. cooperation in the conquest of space. But at present the U.S. Administration has a negative attitude to Soviet carriers' launching American satellites from USSR territory, he pointed out.

Joint Legal Conference With U.S. Previewed

PM0608133190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. conference which—as has been announced—will be held in the Soviet capital in mid-September this year, will be devoted to the legal aspects of USSR-U.S. economic cooperation. Questions relating to the holding and tasks of this unprecedented forum of lawyers from the two countries were discussed in Moscow at a working meeting between its Soviet and American organizers.

S.A. Sitaryan, chairman of the international conference's Soviet organizational committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Kh.E. Moyer (United States), chairman of the executive committee and the program's coordinator; N. Swanson, president of the U.S. Center for International Cooperation; and other meeting participants pointed out that the coming forum may be a substantial factor in stepping up business contacts between the two countries, whose level of development today by no means conforms with the degree of mutual understanding attained in USSR-U.S. political dialogue.

Deputies Meet With U.S. Agrarian Experts

90UF0351A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 3

[Report by V. Matyash: "At the Invitation of the Congress"]

[Text] Washington, 19 July (TASS)—A group of deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet led by A.F. Veprev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Agrarian and Food Committee, is here at the invitation of the U.S. Congress. In Washington the Soviet parliamentarians had a business meeting on Capitol Hill with J. Mitchell, Senate Democratic majority leader; E. de la Garza, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture; and C. Hills, who represents the United States in the trade talks. They also had talks with U.S. Undersecretary for Agriculture R. McCormack and special assistant to the President for agriculture C. Evans.

"During the course of the talks there was a detailed discussion of problems and opportunities for further developing Soviet-American cooperation in the field of agriculture," A.F. Veprev told a TASS correspondent. "Senator Mitchell has stated, in particular, that America truly supports perestroika in the USSR and wishes Soviet people prosperity and success. A mutual desire was also seen to expand contacts along the parliamentary line between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress."

During their week-long visit to the United States the Soviet agrarian parliamentarians will visit a large poultry

complex in Salisbury not far from the American capital, agricultural scientific research complexes, the national center for agricultural equipment trade in Troy, and the headquarters of the well-known Monsanto company, a leading firm in biotechnology research.

One important stage in the trip will be a Soviet-American seminar on agricultural problems that will take place in Illinois, one of the major agro-industrial and industrial centers in the United States.

Latvia's Godmanis Calls U.S. Visit 'Success'

*LD0208162890 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT
2 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga August 2 TASS—"From the political point of view, the visit was a success," Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis told correspondents at the Riga airport today.

Godmanis and Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans today returned from a visit to the United States.

Godmanis believes their meetings with U.S. President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker and Senate members testified to the success of the visit.

"This is a step to the recognition of Latvia's statehood. Now, we must hold talks with the East," Godmanis said, obviously meaning the Soviet Union as "the East."

In the United States, the prime minister and the foreign minister met ethnic Latvians, representatives of U.S. business circles and various public organizations. They agreed to send Latvian specialists in various spheres on visits to the United States. According to Godmanis, the development of Latvia's economy will depend particularly on "relations between Latvia and the Soviet Union."

Deputy Foreign Minister Receives Canadian Envoy

*PM0608134190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.A. Obukhov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received V.G. Turner, Canadian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request 30 July. They examined certain specific questions of Soviet-Canadian bilateral relations, including trade and economic relations and a number of international problems of mutual interest.

Moiseyev, Canadian Defense Chief Meet

*LD0608081790 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT
7 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Visiting Canadian defence staff chief John de Chasterlain met chief of Soviet General Staff Army General Mikhail Moiseyev

today to discuss European security, arms cuts and Soviet-Canadian military contacts.

In an interview with TASS Chasterlain said he came to discuss military doctrines and bilateral contacts between the military of the two countries and confidence-building measures between Canadian and Soviet military commanders and armed forces.

General Moiseyev praised the importance of Chasterlain's first visit to the Soviet Union.

This morning Chasterlain laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier near the Kremlin wall.

In the evening, General Moiseyev hosted a dinner in Chasterlain's honour.

Air Force Group Visits Canada To View Training

*LD0408091190 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT
4 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] A Soviet Air Force delegation has visited Canada for the first time to take a look at Canadian military pilot training procedures.

The visitors met with the Canadian Air Force command and called at military bases in Winnipeg, Comox on the Pacific Coast and Cold Lake in Alberta Province to become the first Soviet officers to ever set foot there.

The trip, which took place between July 29 and August 3, was under an agreement on officer exchange visits reached during Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's stay in Moscow last year.

Sharing his impressions from the visit, Soviet delegation leader Air Force Colonel-General P. Belonozhko, deputy chief of the Air Force Staff, noted the exceptional welcome given to the visitors in Canada.

He said their mission did not include any formal talks, it was just a get-acquainted trip which helped to form a good rapport with Canadian colleagues and hold useful exchanges of opinions on pilot training, Belonozhko said.

He said such visits indicated that the military in East and West were building trust between them, and called for continuing the practice.

China

PRC Foreign Minister Talks on Bilateral Ties

*OW0608111090 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 3 Aug 90*

["Excerpt" from an article by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen published in INTERNATIONAL LIFE; date not given; from the "Situation in Asia" program]

[Text] China and the Soviet Union are great neighbors linked by common mountains and rivers. Traditional friendship has linked the peoples of the two nations. China always holds that relations with the Soviet Union are of great significance. In the historical period of 40 years of diplomatic relations, there have been friendly and cooperative years as well as periods of contradictions and confrontations.

In the 1950's, the Soviet Union helped China construct a series of industrial projects. The Soviets have played important role in bringing about the rapid recovery and development of the national economy and socialist industrial construction of new China.

The Chinese people also have tried their best to support and aid the Soviet Union in many fields.

Starting in the 1960's, Sino-Soviet relations experienced a tortuous road; an abnormal situation prevailed for a long time. Still, even in the days of deteriorating Sino-Soviet relations, the cord of friendship between the peoples of the two countries has never been broken. The Sino-Soviet summit in Beijing last May was a turning point in Sino-Soviet relations. The past was closed, and the future was opened. The normalization of relations between the two countries was realized, and the foundation for establishing a new type of relationship between the two countries was laid at that historical meeting.

Historical experience shows that Sino-Soviet relations, when based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, are most reliable. This kind of common understanding was achieved during the Sino-Soviet summit.

In the Sino-Soviet communique, both sides declared that they will develop relations based on the general principles governing state-to-state relations. The principles are mutual respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefits, and peaceful coexistence.

In the same document, guiding principles for the future development of Sino-Soviet relations were also established. They included: a willingness by both sides to solve all disputes through peaceful talks; a pledge not to resort to force or threaten to use force; measures to reduce the number of Armed Forces along the borders to the lowest possible level in accordance with normal and neighborly relations between the two countries; just and reasonable solutions to border issues on the basis of present border treaty between China and the Soviet Union, in accordance with established principles of international law, on the basis of equal consultation, and in the spirit of mutual concession and mutual understanding; following the principle of equality and mutual benefits, active and planned development of economic, trade, science, technology, culture, and other exchanges; and the promotion of contacts and exchanges between the CPC and the CPSU based on principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. We are pleased to

point out that state-to-state relations have constantly developed under the spirit of these guiding principles since the Sino-Soviet summit.

Contacts between the two parties have also resumed. The visit of Li Peng, premier of China's State Council, to the Soviet Union this April gave new impetus to the further development of Sino-Soviet relations. During that visit, a long term plan on developing economic, scientific, and technological exchanges between China and the Soviet Union was signed; also signed was a cooperative agreement between China and the Soviet Union on the exploration and peaceful utilization of space, as were agreements on mutual reduction of Armed Forces along the Sino-Soviet borders and on guiding principles of confidence-building in military areas. The Chinese Foreign Ministry and the Soviet Foreign Ministry consulted on agreements, including a state loan agreement on China providing consumer goods to the Soviet Union; a cooperative agreement between the Chinese Government and the Soviet Government on building nuclear power stations in China; and a memorandum on the provision of Soviet loans to China.

We believe that if both sides genuinely abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the agreements reached at the Sino-Soviet summit, China and the Soviet Union will be able to establish a long-term friendly and neighborly relationship. This will not only be advantageous to peoples of the two countries, but it will also promote world peace and development.

Northeast Asia

South Korean Delegation Extends Moscow Stay

Economic Accord Discussed

LD0308190790 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT
3 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The course of talks with a visiting South Korean economic delegation has given grounds for hopes of positive shifts in bilateral trade and economic relations, a spokesman for the Soviet planning agency Gosplan, Igor Ryzhov, told TASS.

The visitors, who arrived in Moscow on Wednesday, are the first-ever official economic delegation from South Korea. They are led by Senior Presidential Secretary for Economic affairs Kim Chong-in.

They were received by Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Maslyukov, who chairs Gosplan. The top issues on the agenda of the talks included an accord to broaden economic cooperation, guarantees for investments, the avoidance of double taxation, and the need for direct communication lines between Moscow and Seoul.

The delegation also held talks at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry for External Economic Relations, the Finance Ministry and other ministries.

At the request of the South Korean delegation, their stay in the Soviet Union has been extended for a week, Ryzhov said.

The Soviet side, according to Ryzhov, "intends to view as official only the first three days" of their stay here. But the delegation "will be given the necessary assistance in arranging meetings at Soviet ministries and agencies", he added.

Future Bilateral Ties Eyed

*SK0608041390 Moscow International Service
in Korean 1100 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Talk by station commentator (Andrey Illi): "Government-Level Talks Between the Soviet Union and South Korea" from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The visit to the Soviet Union by the ROK's high-level government delegation continues. Economic talks took place on 3 August. Present at the talks, from the Soviet side, were Yuriy Malyukov, first deputy prime minister and head of the State Planning Agency of the Soviet Union, and, from the ROK side, Kim Chong-in, presidential adviser for economic affairs. Our station commentator (Andrey Illi) writes:

As is known, the main purpose of this visit is to discuss the issue of normalizing the bilateral relations and to organize economic cooperation. The establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of visits by presidents are the ROK's priority tasks in the first high-level dialogue. The guests carried President No Tae-u's personal letter addressed to President Gorbachev. (?Analysts) believe that the Soviet side attaches significance to the economic domain of the talks. Wide-ranging Soviet-ROK ties in trade, science and technology, investment, and the establishment of joint-venture companies were discussed during the talks. It took the two sides many hours to understand each other's opinions because dialogue on these sectors were taking place for the first time. The guests pointed out that agreements on guaranteeing investments and preventing [double] taxation must be signed in order to promote complete economic cooperation. These agreements will provide a decisive solution to the issue of providing the Soviet Union with aid, promoting trade, and carrying out joint projects in the Soviet Union. The Soviet side understood this stand.

It was pointed out at a news conference at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the number of ROK companies that hope to expand their ties with Soviet institutions had increased. This was also confirmed by a YONHAP report that the ROK's exports to the Soviet Union increased to \$210 million during the first half of 1990. However, the imports have decreased by 10.3 percent, to \$166 million, and exports have rapidly increased. This was caused by the shortage of foreign

currency holdings of the Soviet Union, which is undergoing a difficult time for a transition to a market economy [as heard]. This issue was discussed during the talks between Yuriy Malyukov and Kim Chong-in.

The ROK delegation will spend time on Sunday attending a wide-range of scheduled cultural programs. The guests will meet their Soviet companions on Monday to continue to discuss issues. They include six economic experts and six officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The talks will last until 10 August. The Soviet side believes that the ROK Government delegation's visit to the Soviet Union will contribute to expanding economic and scientific and technological ties and ties in other sectors and promoting peace and good-neighbor relations on the Korean peninsula and Asia and the Pacific.

Silayev Holds Economic Talks With South Koreans

*LD0608205290 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT
6 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev met a group of representatives of South Korean political and business circles, who are currently in the Soviet Union at the invitation of USSR people's deputy Svyatoslav Fedorov, head of the eye microsurgery research and development complex.

The guests shared their impressions of the familiarisation with eye microsurgery procedures and their visit to the agrofarm centre of the complex.

The two sides also exchanged considerations about possible areas and ways for mutually beneficial economic cooperation between enterprises and organisations of the Russian Federation and South Korea and expressed mutual opinion about the need to intensify efforts to normalise inter-state relations.

DPRK Invites Chernobyl Victims for Treatment

*PM0608140590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Friendly Gesture"]

[Text] The DPRK Government has invited 100 Soviet children, victims of the accident at Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station], to come for a vacation and treatment in August and September this year. This was announced by Kim Ki-su, DPRK charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR, in a 27 July conversation with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev.

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait Continues

No Soviet Casualties Reported

LD0508162490 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] In response to an appeal made by relatives of Soviet citizens in Kuwait, the USSR Foreign Ministry asks us to state that, according to information received from our embassy in that country, no Soviet citizen in Kuwait has been killed or injured.

Iraq Warns Against Sanctions

LD0608162990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] [First Announcer] Reports from the Near East: The interim government of free Kuwait, which was set up after Iraqi troops entered Kuwait, has suggested that all countries intending to introduce any sanctions against Iraq or Kuwait should refrain from such steps. The foreign minister of this government reminded the whole world that thousands of foreign citizens work in Kuwait. According to him, these countries should not expect noble behavior from us when conspiracies are being plotted against Kuwait and our Iraqi brothers. According to AFP reports, this interim government has forbidden all U.S. and UK citizens to leave the country; I fear they now feel themselves to be hostages. According to ASSOCIATED PRESS, Saudi Arabia's Armed Forces are on heightened military alert; between 200 and 300 tanks have been redeployed on the border with Iraq. True, I may point out that all Saudi Arabia's Armed Forces are unlikely to be enough to stop even a few Iraqi motorized divisions, unless, of course, the United States renders assistance with ships and aircraft. Between 200 and 300 tanks redeployed on the border with Iraq. But how many such tanks do Iraq and Kuwait have? On Sunday, King Husayn of Jordan announced that President Saddam Husayn of Iraq had told him in a telephone conversation that Iraq would not invade Saudi Arabia. The king called upon the West not to intervene in the conflict and to give the Arab countries the opportunity to settle it. I should point out that this is the position of the majority of Arab leaders. However the Western countries, including U.S. President George Bush, declare that the Arab solution to the crisis in Kuwait which leaders of the countries in the region have spoken of has undoubtedly failed. Bush said: I want the Arab countries to join the rest of the world in condemning this arbitrary action and doing everything possible to bring about the departure of Saddam Husayn. Well, the future will show how circumstances will develop.

[Second Announcer] Excuse me, I understand you have been talking as a professional, but in your view, is outside intervention necessary, or should they be left to sort it out themselves?

[First Announcer] Well, you know, my opinion plays no role at all here, but most experts think that economic intervention is necessary and wholly possible; whereas military intervention or conducting some sort of specialized operations, the CIA or something, must be excluded because a fire inflamed in one spot on the globe could draw in a colossal quantity of forces, resources, and people.

Iraq Shuts Down Pipelines

LD0608195690 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT
6 Aug 90

[Text] Ankara August 6 TASS—Iraq shut down one of the two lines of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline, going through Turkish territory, at 17:00 local time today, the ANADOLU AJANSI news agency reports.

The second line now supplies only 30 percent of the usual flow of oil.

The United States has called on Turkey to shut the pipeline down as part of Iraq's economic blockade.

Baghdad has taken the move to avoid embarrassment should Ankara bow to Washington's request, observers believe.

Iraq Sends Warning to Bush

LD0608214490 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT
7 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo August 7 TASS—President Saddam Husayn of Iraq received the U.S. charge d'affairs in Iraq today to convey an oral message to President Bush.

Husayn warned Bush against any steps that could endanger security and stability in the region, according to (INA) news agency.

Iraq wants to maintain security and (?stability) and respects legitimate international interests in the region, as well as peace and security of states situated in the area, Husayn said.

Iraq will protect its sovereignty, rights and interests and will (?sacrifice) anything to achieve this, regardless of outside pressure and threats, the Iraqi president stressed.

He said Iraq wants to develop normal relations with the United States on the basis of mutual respect.

Commenting on reports about the advancement of Iraqi troops to the Saudi border, Husayn said Iraq and Saudi Arabia are linked with "fraternal ties" and that "Saudi Arabia's security is also Iraqi security. [no closing quotes as received]

Such propaganda reports are used as a pretext for intervention in the region and justification of an aggression against Iraq, he said.

Sets Up 'Transitional' Government

LD0708064190 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0230 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Interview with 'Abd al-Mohsen Yusuf al-Du'ayj, Kuwaiti ambassador to the USSR, by correspondents Irini Mishina and Yevgeniy Kiselev; from the "120 Minutes" program; Al-Du'ayj speaks in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation—in the studio, live]

[Text] [Mishina] Today we have already said a sufficient amount about the situation in the Persian Gulf as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. But I think that we can receive more competent and trustworthy information from the Mr. 'Abd al-Mohsen Yusuf al-Du'ayj, Kuwait's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, who is with us today in the studio.

Mr. Ambassador, many news agencies have announced the composition of Kuwait's new government. Iraq asserts that all the eight members of the government are Kuwaitis. Is this true? And what is the Kuwaiti Embassy's attitude to this government?

[Al-Du'ayj] As is known, since the announcement that a so-called new transitional government has been set up in Kuwait after Iraqi troops invaded we are responding to this with great sadness and pain. As is known, the so-called transitional government in Kuwait is headed by Colonel Ala' Husayan 'Ali. We know that he is a Iraqi citizen and worked as military attache in the Iraqi Embassy in one of the Arab countries. We do not consider it necessary to report what country he worked in in this case but we have reported this to the competent Soviet bodies.

[Mishina] Mr. Ambassador, what is the amir of Kuwait's fate? Where is he at the present time?

[Al-Du'ayj] Our amir is in one of the neighboring countries, Saudi Arabia, at the present time. He is in a good state, in good health. Two days ago he addressed an appeal to the whole world and to the Kuwaiti people.

[Kiselev] Are you in contact with him?

[Al-Du'ayj] We are in almost constant contact with our amir at the present time.

[Kiselev] And you are thereby gleaning information on the situation that is currently taking shape in Kuwait?

[Al-Du'ayj] We are gleaning information precisely from there and from our embassies in other foreign countries that have direct contacts with our amir.

[Kiselev] And your direct contacts with Kuwait have now been cut off?

[Al-Du'ayj] As you know Kuwait is at present under occupation and therefore we do not have any contacts with Kuwait.

[Kiselev] One last question. You met with Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. Could you tell us in greater detail what kind of conversation that was?

[Al-Du'ayj] As is known, we were holding constant consultations with Soviet friends before the start of the aggression and during the aggression our consultations with our Soviet friends became more active. Now we are holding these consultations constantly.

[Kiselev] Have you attained a level of mutual understanding?

[Al-Du'ayj] We enjoy mutual understanding on all issues.

[Mishina] Yet another question. Have you met with representatives of Iraq in the Soviet Union, I mean diplomats?

[Al-Du'ayj] This question is an important one because I think that our Iraqi brothers who are in the USSR, including the staff of the Iraqi Embassy and the ambassador, we regarded with great respect and precisely those ties of friendship and fraternity that existed will remain forever.

[Mishina] Literally two words—your forecast.

[Kiselev, interrupting] Just a minute. I must apologize. Our producer has said that unfortunately we have to end the program. We can not even get an extra minute as we say. So we apologize to you and thank you for your conversation. Thank you and on that we end the "120 Minutes" program.

[Mishina] All the best. [video shows Kuwaiti ambassador sitting in the studio with Irina Mishina and Yevgeniy Kiselev]

U.S., Soviet Response to Invasion Reported

International Accord Planned

OW0508140590 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Commentary by Alekseyev]

[Text] Early in the morning of 2 August, Iraq invaded Kuwait, a small Arab country, with a large number of tanks. This has created a new hotbed of dangerous tension in the Near East. The Soviet Union, the United States, and many other countries all denounced Baghdad's military action and demanded that Iraq immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from Kuwait. The Soviet Government's statement on the incident points out that the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Kuwait should be totally restored and protected.

In this connection, station commentator Alekseyev writes the following:

Baghdad's claim that it acted at the request of a new government in Kuwait, a group previously unknown to anyone, in defense of its own military action cannot be seriously accepted by other countries. It is quite apparent that the action is a direct result of the long dispute between Iraq and Kuwait on their treaty concerning the production and export of petroleum.

I do not think it is necessary to talk about this dispute in detail here, nor is the question of which side is more reasonable a significant one at the moment. The important thing is that we must emphatically point out that all disputes, even very pointed disputes, must not be used as grounds for using force. It is necessary to solve all disputes and contradictions through talks at the conference table. This is one of the suppositions of the new ideology proved by mankind after experiencing all kinds of suffering. As is known to all, not long ago, attempts were made, through talks, to solve oil disputes between Iraq and Kuwait. With the help of other countries, a bilateral summit was held as a result of extended efforts. Nevertheless, the talks were halted. Many observers noted that Iraq used an ultimatum which it knew could not be accepted by Kuwait to explain why the talks ended. Later, Baghdad used the suspension of the talks as an uncompromising excuse to launch its offensive with tanks.

What shall we do now? In my opinion, although Iraq used blitz tactics to achieve its military victory over small Kuwait, it has sunk into a very difficult position. International reaction to Baghdad's military action marks one of the first times since World War II that signs of past confrontations between East and West on regional conflicts have been absent. In the past, the Soviet Union, the United States and China were all inclined to criticize the other side and to call the other country an archcriminal responsible for all kinds of world conflicts. However, today they are taking actions with a common or very similar stand. I think this is a very important point. It means that, in solving conflicts between countries, no country can resort to using force to achieve its own interests by utilizing such factors as contention between the superpowers or contradictions between East and West.

Superpowers Coordinate Efforts

LD0608225490 Moscow in English to North America
2200 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Excerpts] In an unprecedented display of unanimity, the Soviet Union and United States have coordinated their action to give an added weight to UN efforts to get the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait. Commentary is by Vladislav Koznyakov. Here is what he writes:

It has been decades since the two superpowers formed a united front against aggression, so that international law and sanctions would triumph over the aggressor. Unlike the recent past, when the Defense Department used to work out scenarios of simulated military operations in the desert areas of the Middle East with the aim of

countering what was described as the Soviet threat, Soviet and U.S. officials are now talking together with other countries about measures to restore peace, disrupted elsewhere. [passage omitted]

Oddly enough, on the issue of effective measures against the Iraqi invasion, the Americans could have reached faster understanding with the Soviet Union than with some of their allies, despite the difficulty the Soviet Union had faced in giving approval to the joint statement given its long-standing good relations with Iraq. In the end, however, it ceded to its new political thinking. Mr. Shevardnadze said that the invasion contradicts the principles of new political thinking and the principle of civilized relations between nations.

The superpowers' coordinated action in an effort to defuse the Gulf conflict is a glaring example of how much the world has changed once the cold war had ended. Their cooperation now goes beyond bilateral relations or the need for resolving long overdue issues. As new conflicts erupt, Moscow and Washington also seem to be reaching rapport on how to resolve them together with the international community. The overriding priority in the current conflict in the Gulf is to get Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait and the Soviet foreign minister said the Soviet Union and the United States would continue working together towards this end.

Governments Impose Sanctions

LD0608190390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Report by station diplomatic correspondent Viktor Levin, including recorded remarks by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleskandr Belonogov at a news conference in Moscow on 6 August]

[Text] Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the position of the Soviet Union: Viktor Levin, our diplomatic correspondent, reports.

[Levin] I have just returned from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs after a conversation with Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Belonogov, deputy minister.

He reported that a session of the UN Security Council is taking place in New York, at which a resolution on sanctions against Iraq is to be adopted. They provide for a ban on all export and import operations. The Soviet Union will vote for that resolution and will carry it out steadfastly.

On Friday, as soon as Iraq's aggression against Kuwait became known, the Security Council adopted Resolution Number 660, which demands an immediate end to the aggression and the withdrawal of troops from Kuwait.

Belonogov reiterated the thoughts expressed by Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, at a news conference at Vnukovo II Airport—that it has not been easy for us to adopt a position of condemnation of Iraq

since friendly relations have linked us for many years. Moreover, these relations were built on the principles of mutual benefit, which is far from being so with all countries. However, the principles of ethics gained the upperhand. To put it somewhat differently, I would express it thus: Iraq is our friend, but truth is dearer. And that truth lies in the fact that Iraq has committed a totally overt aggression, and that has determined our approach.

It seems to me that that deserves particular attention. There was a time—and not so long ago—when interests were often set above ethics.

The new political thinking categorically rejects, as some say in such cases, a pragmatic, or as others put it, cynical approach. The norms of ethics, the requirements of the UN Charter, the fundamental document of modern international law—these are the criteria by which the Soviet Union has approached the aggression by Iraq against Kuwait.

The deputy minister reported that the Soviet leadership dispatched two messages to Saddam Husayn, president of Iraq. In the first, our opinion was expressed without accusations, and the position was stated clearly in favor of a withdrawal of troops.

Belonogov did not reveal the content of the reply given by the Iraqi president to the message, but I understood that the reply was negative. A few hours later, a new message from the Soviet leadership was sent to Saddam Husayn, wherein recommendations were expressed in very insistent terms, that Resolution Number 660 be treated with complete responsibility and seriousness.

According to the rules stipulated at the beginning of the conversation, I have to be extremely restrained in quoting the deputy minister. The conversation bore an informative, and to a certain degree, confidential character. Therefore, in expounding the content, I will offer my own interpretation of some of it.

Thus, I formed the unequivocal impression that we are for resolute action aimed at ending the aggression, but we would not want, intentionally or unintentionally, to promote an aggravation of the situation.

Then, Belonogov touched upon a question which, I am sure, is giving rise to justified concern in many of our citizens. And here I will take the liberty of switching on part of a taped recording.

[Belonogov] Of course, we cannot, nor will we, forget that there are a considerable number of Soviet citizens both in Kuwait and Iraq. They have been sent there on missions by various departments in order to carry out specific work under contracts which have been concluded between the governments, correspondingly, of Kuwait and Iraq.

In Kuwait, we have approximately 880 people, including 162 women and a child.

We have considerably more in Iraq—over 8,000 people. Our people are scattered throughout the country, working at many installations. They are carrying out geological prospecting work, oil drilling, the construction of service facilities [obustroystvo] at oil wells, the construction of gas pipelines, the construction of heat and electric power plants, and at many other installations. Naturally, they are living at the installations with their families, and of course the number of children is much greater there.

In contacts with the envoy of Iraq—and these contacts are daily, as you may know from publications, and today, too, I met the ambassador of Iraq here twice—we are raising questions on the need for guaranteeing the safety of Soviet citizens very firmly.

Well, at the moment, everything is fine. Our citizens, those who work in the embassy and in other missions, and those who work as specialists at facilities involving cooperation in Kuwait, are alive and well.

Since such installations are not operating at the moment, our people are at their places of residence.

[Levin] We will continue to hope that everything will be alright. One wants very much to hope that.

Seek Guarantees of Citizens' Safety

PM0708094790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 p 3

[Report by D. Kulik: "Kuwait: What is Happening to Our Citizens?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Iraqi troops have established military control over oil-fields where, incidentally, some Soviet specialists are working. In this connection, the following question arises: How will the question concerning our citizens' residence in Kuwait and the guarantees for their safety be resolved?

We approached the USSR Foreign Ministry North Africa and Near East Countries Administration for an answer to this question.

There are several hundred of our citizens in Kuwait, but for some reason the administration did not tell us exactly how many. Admittedly, they added that the number of our specialists has sharply risen in the past year in connection with the equipping of oil production installations. No Soviet citizens have been injured. In answer to a question whether our citizens are going to be evacuated, it was said that none of the foreign missions on Kuwaiti territory had examined the question of evacuation. As far as safety is concerned, several statements were made to the Iraqi side about the fact that Soviet citizens must be provided with food and water in all situations and that, naturally, their safety must be guaranteed.

Let us hope that the Iraqi side's assurances will be fulfilled and that the fate of the 35 British advisers or the

11 U.S. specialists who were captured by the Iraqis will not befall them, even though they were admittedly turned over to the British representatives [as published].

According to USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, there are 900 of our citizens in Kuwait. Their safety must be guaranteed not just by the Soviet side but also by the new Kuwaiti Government.

French Frigate Heads for Persian Gulf 6 Aug

LD0608202690 Moscow TASS in English 2019 GMT
6 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Krasnoshchekov]

[Text] Paris August 6 TASS—In accordance with a French Government decision, the French navy frigate Dupleix is heading for the Persian Gulf shores, the news service of the country's Armed Forces reported today.

The frigate with a displacement of about 4,000 tonnes, is armed with exocet missiles, designed to hit surface targets, anti-aircraft missiles, a 100 mm gun and torpedoes.

Besides, there are two Lynx helicopters on board. The frigate, which has a crew of 220, will join two French Navy escort ships that are already in the Gulf.

Estonian Parliament Condemns Iraqi Invasion

LD0608213790 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT
6 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tallinn August 6 TASS—An extraordinary session of the Estonian Parliament opened here today. On the agenda are items "on relations between the Estonian Republic and the USSR", a bill on a national emblem and a state flag of Estonia, and a number of bills concerning taxation.

Reports on the first item were delivered by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, and by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar. Both reports dealt mainly with the problems of restoring an independent Estonian state, the path that was traversed over the past two years, and political and economic steps along the road to independence.

A long discussion made it possible to reveal the attitude of deputies, who represent various groups, to the problem of restoring the Estonian state and to the gaining of sovereignty and political independence.

It was agreed to make no decisions so far. The session elected an editorial commission and instructed it to draft a document to this effect which will be considered at next meeting.

The deputies adopted a statement condemning Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

The Estonian Parliament session will continue its work on August 7.

Prospects for War Between Israel, Iraq Viewed

TA0708053090 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Hebrew 1500 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Commentary by Dmitry Prokofyev]

[Text] Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi leaves tonight for the United States. He will confer with James Baker on Thursday and discuss with him the chances for the Middle East peace process and the possibility of a settlement between Israel and the Arabs. Sources in Jerusalem report that all these issues will be discussed in view of the new situation created in the Middle East as a result of the Iraqi belligerence in Kuwait. Our correspondent Dmitry Prokofyev has the following to say on this:

In the latest meeting of the Israeli Cabinet, Defense Minister Moshe Arens and Chief of Staff Dan Shomron said that Iraq's occupation of Kuwait does not directly threaten Israel's security. It seems that is an assumption based on fact. Saddam Husayn's main efforts will, in the experts' view, now be directed at completing the occupation of his neighboring country or at formalizing the puppet government in Kuwait. Whether Iraq succeeds or not, the next victim will not be Israel; however, the outcome of the Kuwaiti crisis will also reflect on the future of the political process between Israel and the Arabs. For instance, Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i believes that Israel should now increase its political involvement in the international arena to exploit the momentum at a time when the international community is shocked by Baghdad's aggression.

It appears to me, however, that Minister Levi is bringing the United States very different proposals. He will first demand from Secretary Baker clarifications on the international guarantees to be given to Israel within the framework of the peace process, because following the Iraqi aggression, it has become clear to the Jerusalem government that without effective international guarantees any settlement with the Arabs is barely worth the paper it is written on. Up to now, Prime Minister Shamir and his supporters claimed that the only guarantee Israel had, the only assurance for its safety, is the might of the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. It now appears that at the very least, one Arab regime, and in fact the regime with the strongest army, is simply not being ruled, and the general situation has changed fundamentally [sentence as heard]. Many in Jerusalem now ask the legitimate question: If Iraq succeeds in its aggressive designs and ignores the international community, what will prevent Saddam from attacking Israel, including with missiles with chemical warheads? The fear of an Israeli response. But the Israeli response will not be aimed at Saddam personally, but at Iraqi civilians. The Iraqi leader has become used to not sparing his people's lives, as shown by the war with Iran.

There is an assumption that if the superpowers do not succeed in forcing the Baghdad ruler to withdraw from Kuwait and permit the legitimate regime to be restored, there will be no chance for peace between Israel and Iraq. Moreover, it is likely that in such a case there will be a countdown for a new war in the region, either between Israel and Iraq or between Iraq and Syria, which in the final analysis will lead to a war between Iraq and Israel. But if the efforts now being invested by the United States and the USSR conclude successfully and Iraq is forced to withdraw without picking the fruit of its aggression, no element in the Middle East will ever again be able to ignore the need to use the international mechanism to solve existing conflicts. I assume that if that happens the Israeli Government will also understand at some stage that convening the political process of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the USSR and the United States, will also coincide with Israeli interests.

Immigrants to Israel Cause 'Unprecedented Crisis'

*PM0508162990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS reports under general heading: "Plan for Settling Immigrants in Israel"]

[Text] London, 30 Jul—Israeli Minister of Housing Construction A. Sharon has advanced a plan for settling immigrants which, in the view of a number of Israeli politicians, could "tear the country apart." As REUTER reports from Jerusalem, Sharon stated that only his plan can save the the numerous Israelis who are homeless. "Winter is approaching, thousands of people are living out of doors, and their numbers will increase by the end of the year," the minister told journalists

For his part Finance Minister Y. Moda'i expressed the conviction that the state will not be able to cope with the expenditure involved in fulfilling Sharon's five-year plan, which has been costed at \$13.5 billion. If these funds are used to build and purchase homes it will leave unresolved the questions of providing jobs, education, and health care for new arrivals, Moda'i noted.

This year alone, REUTER reports, 70,000 immigrants have arrived in Israel, more than 60,000 of them from the Soviet Union. Another 90,000 Soviet Jews are expected to arrive before the end of the year.

Paris, 30 Jul—The newspaper L'HUMANITE today published an article from Israel by its special correspondent devoted to the situation that has developed in connection with the growth of emigration from the USSR. "This process has led to an unprecedented crisis: Many thousands of people have found themselves on the street. In parks and public gardens throughout Israel you can see tent camps of languishing homeless. These are young people in no position to find housing, and poor or unemployed people thrown out onto the street because they can no longer pay for an apartment: Housing costs

have doubled or tripled under the impact of the increased demand from immigrants from the USSR."

The least affluent strata of the population, L'HUMANITE continues, are acutely aware of the injustice when newcomers are given priority in housing allocation.

Belonogov Meets Visiting Israeli Official

*PM0608133790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.M. Belonogov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received E. Rubinstein, Israeli Government secretary who is on a private visit to the USSR, at the latter's request 30 July.

They exchanged opinions on questions of the Near East situation and certain aspects of bilateral relations. The Soviet side expressed serious concern at the lack of progress made in organizing the peace process and at the deterioration of the situation in this region of the world. The interlocutor's attention was drawn particularly to the inadmissibility of any change in the demographic situation on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, including the settlement there of people emigrating from the Soviet Union.

East Europe

Poland's Ties With 'Crumbling Power' Viewed

*AU0708072290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 4-5 Aug 90 pp 1,5*

[Interview with Yuriy Kashlev, Soviet ambassador to Poland, by Pawel Ziolek, Warsaw; date not given: "Europe Will Not Be Europe Without Russia"]

[Text] [Ziolek] July this year marked a watershed in Soviet politics. The 28th CPSU Congress was accompanied by anticommunist rallies and fractional struggles. The Ukraine and Belorussia declared independence. At the same time, on the international level, Gorbachev agreed to the unification of Germany within NATO. All this, coupled to the emancipation of the USSR's former satellites, creates a picture of a crumbling power.

[Kashlev] I do not agree. The congress reaffirmed the victory of the reformist line. Gorbachev is going to rule the country with both hands—a president and party chief at the same time. Gorbachev's success is a guarantee of a strong Soviet Union with a market economy, federal or confederative structure, and peaceful foreign policy. These three elements will determine the USSR's strength in the world. The results of the talks with Kohl are also a success for us. We have won a guarantee of peaceful cooperation with Germany, and the Bundeswehr and GDR Army will be halved. In a military sense, the Soviet Union remains a superpower, despite the planned reduction of our Army by 500,000 men and the 14-15 percent cut in our defense budget.

[Ziolek] Is the USSR prepared for the collapse of the Warsaw Pact in a situation where NATO is preserving and even increasing its strength and significance?

[Kashlev] The NATO summit in London permitted us to take a different look at this problem. We appreciate the new functions of this group, in accordance with the spirit of CSCE. Therefore we can assess the future role of the Warsaw Pact differently. Generally speaking, military factors will be reduced, but the political factors will remain in effect. The Pact may act as a stabilizer in East Europe and become a component of a broader system like the CSCE.

[Ziolek] In that case how would you describe the objectives of Soviet foreign policy?

[Kashlev] Briefly, to safeguard by nonmilitary means the best external conditions for the country's economic development.

[Ziolek] So the main objective is a strong economy.

[Kashlev] Yes.

[Ziolek] The GDR will soon cease to exist, and Czechoslovakia and Hungary have made it clear they want to leave the Warsaw Pact. How does the Kremlin view Poland's role in this changed situation?

[Kashlev] First of all I would like to say that leaving the Warsaw Pact is not a once-only action, and it will certainly take these countries some time to leave it. Soviet forces will remain on former GDR territory for the next few years, hence Poland is enormously important. But on the other hand, the Soviet forces guarantee that no revanchist trends reemerge in Germany. That is not without importance when one considers the German minority in Silesia. Although the Polish press has not laid strong emphasis on this lately, the Soviet Union has always backed Poland's bid to take part in the two-plus-four talks. Eduard Shevardnadze called the latest Paris meeting on the subject of Germany "a historic day for Poland." Warsaw should maintain good relations with Germany and the USSR. I hold the work of Polish diplomacy in high esteem; it seems to conform to this principle.

[Ziolek] Poland no longer has one neighbor on its eastern border, but several, though their political outlines are still not known. Although we adhere to the principle of nonintervention in USSR domestic affairs, we are not aloof to what is going on there, especially because some representatives of those societies are insisting on more energetic activity by Poland.

[Kashlev] I think that, just like in the West, responsible circles in Poland are dominated by the view that a national uprising in the USSR should be prevented. We respect this cautious attitude. For historical reasons, we understand that these processes of national rebirth are particularly interesting for Poland. It seems to me that Poland must believe that Gorbachev wants to turn the USSR into a real federation or confederation, into a

country which we have never been before. Let us give this idea a chance. It is not in Poland's interests for some large Union republics to get out of control, and it is not in Poland's interests to support a nationalism which, if it turns anti-Russian, will also become anti-Polish. On our part, we will not interfere in any way with Poland's establishment of close contacts with its neighbors. Poland has to appreciate its geopolitical interests. In that case, it lies in Poland's interests to prevent a break with the Soviet Union.

[Ziolek] Is the USSR not afraid of being left out of the future united Europe on account of its size, even if that Europe does embrace the eastern part of the continent?

[Kashlev] Without Russia, Europe will not be Europe. Although we are furthest to the east, we are still a European country on account of our history, culture, and even the color of our skin and eyes. Russia is a kind of bridgehead that joins Europe to the most dynamically developing region of the Far East and Pacific. The CSCE which emerged 15 years ago partly on our initiative may be the start of such a joint European structure. Finally, not without significance is the fact that the USSR will soon become the biggest market. I do not want to appear egocentric, but I feel that the center of politics is shifting to Europe right now, therefore we have to link ourselves to Europe. When we have overcome our difficulties, we might become more attractive to Europe.

[Ziolek] The Soviet Union and United States have been rivals until now. Now, in the post-ideological era, are there any spheres in which the two countries may cooperate? I mean competition with the Far East or the threat of Moslem fundamentalism.

[Kashlev] One cannot ignore facts such as China, with one billion inhabitants, or Islamic fundamentalism. We feel the effects of the latter even in the USSR. Once we thought that Marxist thinking enabled us to forecast anything. Today we are not so sure.

[Ziolek] You represent a new style of Soviet diplomacy. How do you view your role in Warsaw in the new situation?

[Kashlev] When I was appointed ambassador to Poland, I attributed this to the important role which Warsaw had begun to play in international politics, so I thought a professional diplomat would be required there. However, it is equally important to observe what is going on in Polish domestic politics. We do not intend to interfere in the country's internal affairs like we used to. A professional approach toward politics requires the maintaining of contacts with all political forces, not just one, as was the case before. Since I assumed this post over two months ago, I have spoken to people who would never have crossed the threshold of an embassy before. They include Bronislaw Geremek and Adam Michnik. We are open to contacts with all milieus. We depend on contacts with the press and mass media, which used to be a weak point in the work of this embassy. In conclusion, I must say that the work in Warsaw is very interesting.

Hungarian Economic Official Discusses Ties*LD0608200990 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] The president of the Hungarian Economic Chamber flew to Moscow and had discussions with his Soviet partner. Gyorgy Toth prepared a telephone interview with Dr. Lajos Tolnay, who is already on holiday.

[Begin Recording] [Toth] We are living in a time of rather uncertain relations between the two countries, not to mention the future of our own enterprises. Under such circumstances, what can you discuss of mutual use and mutual interest?

[Tolnay] Obviously expert negotiations about the change to dollar accounting are going on, but those conditions that already existed between the two countries—knowledge of each other, know-how in trading with each other, the already established personal official contacts, and geographic proximity—make the formulation of relations at a new level after the change to dollar accounting even more justified. Therefore, the chambers could help in building these contacts between enterprises. The bridging role which we have been advocating in Hungary for about 20 years, but could never establish, primarily because of the currency accounting problems, could become a reality after 1991; for this we need to receive and provide information.

I think this visit was significant, especially during this period when uncertainty is prevalent in every direction.

We could definitely conclude that, in spite of the Western invasion, the Soviet partner is interested in retaining its Hungarian contacts. [end recording]

Czechoslovakia's Communist Party Chairman Visits*LD0608213990 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] Yanayev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has met with Adamec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. [CPCZ]. During the conversation a comradely exchange of views took place on the state of and prospects for inter-party cooperation between the CPSU and CPCZ. The importance of mutually studying experiences in renewing the parties and organizing their activity in new conditions was noted. Agreement was reached on how this work should be conducted. Topical problems of European policy, especially the consequences of German unification, were discussed. The two men noted the need for interaction between the two parties in the interest of strengthening stability and security on the continent.

West Europe**'Delicate' Problem of Soviet Deserters to FRG***PM0608125390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Aug 90 First Edition p 5*

[Dispatch by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Grigoryev: "Border Poses A Problem"]

[Text] Bonn, 2 Aug—Over the past two weeks, eight deserters from Soviet Armed Forces units deployed in the GDR have turned up on FRG territory.

The first such case was recorded 19 July. Another two deserters were discovered in Bad Lauterberg 22 July. And finally, a "Volga" carrying five passengers in civilian dress appeared in a forest region near Goettingen last Monday. The deserters' uniforms were in the trunk. They stated that they had deserted from a unit deployed in Perleberg near Schwerin.

According to press reports, the violators of the oath are at the central reception camp for emigres at Braunschweig. According to the same sources, they intend to seek political asylum.

The Lower Saxony Interior Ministry contacted the Defense and Interior Ministries in Bonn to clarify the legal position. At the same time, the FRG Foreign Ministry "informally" discussed this unusual situation with the three Western powers. For the moment the problem is being considered an "internal German affair." In response to a press request, the FRG Foreign Ministry pointed out that "deserters from the Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR who cross the open FRG border seeking asylum will, in the federal government's opinion, be treated the same as all other emigres." Otherwise deserters should be seen as foreigners illegally present on FRG territory.

It is being hinted here that all this is causing concern and could turn into a "scary problem." It is indeed delicate. On the one hand, the democratization recognized by all—including the right to leave a country—removes any grounds for seeking or granting political asylum. On the other hand, it is important to clarify the real reasons behind the desertion. Was it prompted by illegal acts? Perhaps the young people were simply confused? But when a "Volga" is stolen and people dress as civilians, such a possibility is unlikely.

The increasingly frequent cases of desertion attest to the quality of educational work in the subunits of the Western Group of Forces.

Signing of German Election Treaty Noted*LD0308141490 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT
3 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Savrin]

[Text] Berlin August 3 TASS—A treaty on the first all-German elections was signed here today by state

secretary Guenther Krause for the German Democratic Republic and by Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaebue for the Federal Republic of Germany.

Radio Moscow, Deutsche Welle To Cooperate

*LD0708103590 Hamburg DPA in German 1002 GMT
7 Aug 90*

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—Deutsche Welle (DW) and Radio Moscow will be cooperating in the future. A cooperation treaty was signed in the Soviet capital on Tuesday by DW intendant Dieter Weirich. The Cologne station also announced that above all joint programs in the shape of radio links, to be transmitted by the foreign service of Radio Moscow and DW, will be co-produced. The cooperation would also extend to the exchange of radio programs.

Belonogov Discusses Gulf With Italian Envoy

*LD0608193990 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT
6 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov met Italian charge d'affaires Ferdinando Zecco here today.

Italy now chairs the European Community.

Zecco informed Belonogov about the EC position on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

The sides discussed the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Justice Minister Meets Waldheim in Vienna

*LD0608172590 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT
6 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna August 6 TASS—Soviet Justice Minister Veniamin Yakovlev, on an official visit in Austria, focused on boosting cooperation in law between the USSR and Austria, the exchange of specialists and expertise in law-making in talks held here.

Yakovlev was received by Austrian Federal President Kurt Waldheim, who showed lively interest in the sweeping transformations in the Soviet Union. Waldheim praised the course of perestroyka, pointing out that it was of immense international importance

Waldheim favoured furthering the Helsinki process and creating new European structures. He emphasised that never in the present century Europe has played such a benevolent role in strengthening world peace.

Yakovlev held talks with his Austrian counterpart Egmont Foregger and met Nationalrat (Parliament) First President Rudolf Poeder.

Political & Social

KGB Arrests Specialist Handing Over Documents

LD0608192890 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Agents of the Soviet State Security Committee have arrested a specialist of one of Moscow's research institutes while handing over classified information concerning national defense to a representative of a foreign country. An investigation has been launched into the circumstances.

KGB on Arrest of 'Researcher'

LD0708084990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2051 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The USSR Committee for State Security reports that a person has been arrested in Moscow trying to pass secret information concerning defense. Here is a video report by correspondent L. Shishkina.

[Shishkina] Having received the TASS report, we turned to the USSR KGB's public relations center, which was set up recently. I am talking to Major General Aleksandr Nikolayevich Karbainov.

[Karbainov] USSR KGB staff detained and arrested a researcher at one of the scientific research institutes in Moscow while attempting to pass classified materials on a defense subject to a representative of a foreign state. A criminal case under Article 64 of the RSFSR criminal code has been opened, and an investigation is being conducted.

[Shishkina] What else can you add to the TASS report?

[Karbainov] I would be glad to add something, but unfortunately I cannot do so right now. This is proceeding from the interests of the investigation and for operational reasons. But I promise that as the investigation progresses, we will keep the public informed of its results.

Moscow, Leningrad Mayors Discuss CPSU Reforms

AU0608183990 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 6 Aug 90 pp 124-128

[Interview with Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov and Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak by Joerg R. Mettke in Moscow; date not given: "Taming the Monster CPSU"]

[Excerpts] [Mettke] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, Gavriil Khritonovich, as chairmen of the Soviets of the two largest Russian cities—that is, as mayors—you left the CPSU at the end of the 28th congress. You think that the party cannot be reformed. Will you now found a new party with your comrades of the Democratic Platform?

[Sobchak] The Democratic Platform will itself constitute a party, but I do not intend to join it. One of our

arguments for leaving the party was that a chairman of the Soviet should not belong to any political party at all. Only this can speed up the development of a multiparty system.

[Mettke] This sounds paradoxically like depolitization.

[Sobchak] In your country this would indeed be a paradox. But for our transitional society it is necessary in order to effectively abolish the monopoly of the CPSU. The other parties have only names for the time being, but not yet any organization. In a situation in which the majority of the people express distrust of the Communist Party, a depolitization of the state leadership is the only chance of regaining trust among the citizens. Therefore, we made our appeal to Gorbachev to withdraw from the CPSU.

[Mettke] He is said to have told his confidants in this connection: Do you really want to leave this monster without leadership?

[Sobchak] I do not know whether he really said it in this way, but the argument is to be taken seriously. Nevertheless: In our country the president is effective particularly through the party. He does not have his own organs of power. In this way he will never tame the monster, not to mention get rid of it.

[Mettke] You would prefer the CPSU to have a clearly conservative leadership in the hope that it would then discredit itself even more quickly in the eyes of the population?

[Sobchak] That is correct. Only then could President Mikhail Gorbachev establish his own democratic structures of power. I really think very much of Gorbachev, and I notice with concern how his reputation among the people is declining. He has achieved almost impossible things, and he has deprived people of power who were more dangerous than the mafia in Sicily. But now he has to go one step further.

[Mettke] As far as Boris Yeltsin?

[Sobchak] Yeltsin, at least, would be elected as Russian president directly by the people, and with a large majority. So far he has been fulfilling his most difficult task, that is, keeping the conservatives in the Russian parliament at bay, with great brilliance and skill. This is a completely new Yeltsin. We can learn much from him.

[Mettke] When will the first multiparty elections in the USSR be held?

[Sobchak] In one or two years. As soon as the new Constitution has been passed completely, early new elections are unavoidable. No parliament, and thus the president either, will complete the envisaged term of office. But no one abroad need be afraid because of this: We have already passed the dangerous phase in which a conservative-military putsch seemed to be possible.

[Mettke] One of the first decisions of the new Leningrad City Council consisted of prohibiting every city official from following any orders that were not given by the elected people's representative body; otherwise, he would be fired. How did the CPSU react to this clear challenge?

[Sobchak] The first reaction was safeguarding its alleged property; that is, buildings, newspapers, and publishing companies. But so far I have not seen any direct interference.

[Popov] In Moscow it is similar, but this gives me reason for concern rather than for joy. The CPSU is going into opposition too soon. Even though I stick to my view about its being unimportant for future developments, at the moment it still has solid structures in the military and among the State Security Service. If the party now steals away from responsibility, and adopts critical and oppositional positions, it knows, of course, all the weak points that cannot be repaired within one or two years. It can use this for propaganda against us, and will thus regain political credit among some people.

[Mettke] But you always wished for this regeneration of opposition in the CPSU.

[Popov] There is more to it than that. As regards their ideology, the communists have always been a counter-party. They always needed enemies: the tsar, landowners, capitalists, kulaks, Trotskiyites, cosmopolitans. The fact that they have not had any real opponents within the country over the past 20 years irritated them very much. Now they can finally mobilize their entire combat and defamation techniques against something new....

[Sobchak] Not only against the new power, but also against the cooperatives, against the shadow economy, and against everything that calls their monopoly into question.

[Mettke] Do you and your city councillors feel like a counter-government, and is there not also the danger of relapsing into particularism, if in Leningrad, for instance, only Leningrad citizens, and in Moscow only Moscow citizens, are permitted to go shopping?

[Sobchak] We do not have any ambitions of becoming a counter-government. But we want to manage independently and, in the future, we want to prevent the central government from taking away every ruble we earn. In our country it is impossible for all regions to make the transition to the market economy at the same time and in a balanced way. Some regions are closer to West Europe's standards, others are still on the level of feudal socialism.

[Mettke] But if your region is better off, you will have to guard yourselves against greediness.

[Sobchak] Perhaps we will sell certain goods in return for a parallel currency, which the people from other regions do not have.

[Mettke] This will certainly not ease relations among the individual Soviet republics, with whom the central power is currently haggling for a new Union treaty.

[Sobchak] First of all, we have to put the stage of efforts for independence and separation behind us; Gorbachev is making a big mistake by trying to slow these trends. Every republic that wants to live in complete autonomy should do this; this is the only way to return to integration and sensible neighborly relations. I have no doubt that this will happen.

[Mettke] You repeatedly said that you are not striving for a return to capitalism. What do you want?

[Sobchak] I count on convergence. For me this seems to be the most fruitful and most valuable idea of our century. At the moment the Soviet citizens are laughing about the following joke: What have the comrades of the KGB actually done for 70 years? The damned capitalists stole the idea of socialism from us, implemented it, and are now enjoying all the advantages, while we are the losers.

[Mettke] However, you will have to come to grips with the lack of supplies for the population immediately.

[Sobchak] Something must be done quickly. A few things are already underway: We have received foreign currency to renovate our light and foodstuffs industry, in which nothing had been invested for decades, and which would have actually had to be closed down—it is in a terrible state, with hopelessly obsolete equipment, without purification plants, and without filters.

Here the only solution is privatization, also in favor of foreign capital. An international investment bank has already been founded. We hope that German banks will also soon open branch offices in our country. However, a fundamental change for the better will take place only when Leningrad becomes a free economic zone and thus becomes interesting for foreign investments. [passage omitted]

[Mettke] Will Western enterprises be permitted in the near future to operate their own companies in line with private economy criteria, and to buy real estate to compensate for their risk?

[Popov] We will do many things so that these companies will get involved in our country directly and build factories in Moscow. But we will hardly introduce private ownership of real estate. By the way, in many countries the leasing of land for 50 or 99 years, as we can now offer, is considered equivalent to direct ownership of land.

[Mettke] But this permits only a very gradual change in the Soviet city structures, which are hostile to the market economy.

[Popov] You are completely right. Every street has a bakery, a pharmacy, a laundry—exactly in line with the planning norms for so and so many thousand people. If

I privatize these things today I get a large number of small monopolists in these shops, among whom competition is not possible.

[Sobchak] Our situation is better. Fortunately there was not enough money to destroy Leningrad. We still have intact prerevolutionary city structures. For instance, a stock exchange and more than 40 bank buildings, which only have to be renovated for their original tasks.

[Mettke] Privatization is the core of your program?

[Popov] We have to do this, but at the same time, we have to see the enormous danger that the small monopolist wants to enrich himself, and has even less social sensitivity than the big one.

[Mettke] In any case, the people no longer have too much patience. You are still considered by the citizens as someone who brings hope, but how long will this last?

[Sobchak] For one-and-a-half years at the most. By then the power, which has so far been hostile to man, must have tangibly turned toward man, and must have brought specific material improvements for him.

[Popov] It is clear that one cannot establish capitalism nor socialism in one city alone. Our chances and risks are strongly influenced by the overall development. At the moment, I see three possible scenarios:

First—we continue to move in the direction of democracy and market economy; in this case our cities would certainly become the most important testing sites and development laboratories for a better future.

Second—a long stalemate between progressive and regressive forces ensues; then we will have two years at the most for smaller changes, which, however, will not fundamentally change life.

Third—the conservative trends increase quickly: Then we would just have been able to show that we had a meaningful program.

[Mettke] This would not be much. Which variety is the most probable one?

[Popov] This is difficult to say. The historical development certainly runs into the first direction; it cannot be held up for long. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Meets Market Economy Working Group

LD0608183290 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Federation Parliament Boris Yeltsin met here today with the working group for the preparation of a Union programme for the transition to a market economy.

The group was formed on August 2 in line with an understanding reached between the president of the USSR and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

A programme for the group's work was discussed. Speakers during the discussion were Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, deputy premier of the Russian Federation, and economists—academicians Stanislav Shatalin, Nikilay Petrakov and Leonid Abalkin.

The meeting was attended by Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russia Council of Ministers.

A specific plan of work was elaborated, appropriate assignments were determined, and large-scale cooperation with representatives of scientific, public and professional collectives was mapped out.

The leaders of the USSR and Russia agreed to form a group of scientists and specialists with broad participation of representatives of the Union republics who are instructed to work out a concept for the transition to a market economy on a Union-wide scale.

Such programme should be prepared by September when sessions of the supreme soviets of the USSR and Russia will begin and is to become the foundation of the economic section of a union treaty.

Documents that are already available in the USSR and republics, primarily a programme prepared in the Russian Federation, have been adopted as the basis for the group's activities.

Shcherbakov on Social Effects of Market Economy

LD0608195290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 6 August broadcasts a four-minute report on a 6 August news conference in Moscow by Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. The theme of the press conference was social protection of the population during the transfer to a market economy. Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov says among other things that the main task during the transfer to a market economy in relation to the population is to include new factors which would change the behavior of the able-bodied population. It is necessary to lift multiple restrictions to this end, and to provide freedom for an individual to earn as much as he or she wants. Protection of the population here expressed itself in protecting the right to work and protection against unemployment, as well as in protection of the right to a worthy income.

As for the population incapable of work, he says that the main task here is to set up a system which would provide for normal standards of living for those who cannot yet work, and for those who are too old to work. If we take all those people on a small income, then 20 percent of

them are pensioners, 30 percent are young and incomplete families and 50 percent are families with many children. The problem of pensioners is being resolved by the new law on pensions, which increases the pension on average by 40-50 percent. The decree of the Supreme Soviet adopted in April improves the life of young and incomplete families including extended maternity leave and an increased maternity allowance, Shcherbakov says. He adds that the situation of families with many children is simply very bad. On Thursday a new Council of Ministers decree was signed, in which the approach to the problem of rendering assistance to families with many children was radically changed. First of all, a one-time payment for a child under six years old was introduced which will amount to 50 percent of the minimum wage. This payment does not depend on whether it is for the first or 11th child—there are 35 rubles for each child. The sum of a one-time allowance on the birth of a child was reconsidered and it amounts to three times the minimum wage. Shcherbakov says that the next step in this direction should be as follows: We must at last determine the official poverty line in the country, and a living wage. This living wage should be entirely covered by the minimum wage.

Ryzhkov Claims No 'Huge Unemployment' in Future

PM0608154190 Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 4 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by correspondent A. Krotkov; place and date of interview not given; published under the "Unemployment Protection Fund" rubric: "Nikolay Ryzhkov: 'I Am Prepared to Support the Fund'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* Public Unemployment Protection Fund that has been set up is finding more and more ardent supporters every day. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, turns out to be among them. He said the following during a meeting with our correspondent:

[Ryzhkov] I can, of course, only take a positive attitude toward the idea of setting up a fund of this kind. Moreover, when you open a bank account I am willing to personally take part in forming it. I think that other comrades will also back me in this.

[Krotkov] But some people think that money for such purposes should be collected under state auspices with the participation of trade unions and enterprises while public organizations, particularly newspapers, should allegedly not get in the way here.

[Ryzhkov] I do not think that we should think like that. The state undoubtedly shoulders the lion's share of responsibility for this question. But at the same time I see nothing reprehensible in someone else, apart from the state, displaying the appropriate initiative. After all,

our country already has the Children's Foundation which does not impede state child care policy at all. Rather the reverse.

[Krotkov] In your view, what funds are needed to provide effective protection against potential unemployment in the USSR? Where should this money be channeled primarily?

[Ryzhkov] We have instructed the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems to carry out the preliminary rough calculations on this. Tentatively speaking, it may be a question of 3-4 billion rubles. This money should obviously be channeled above all into retraining workers whose enterprises have closed down for various reasons, unable to withstand competition.... I think in general that the country will not be threatened with huge unemployment over the next few years. After all, don't forget that we do have very many job vacancies unlike Western countries. We only have to provide prompt training in the requisite professions for people who are being laid off.

[Krotkov] Some economists' forecasts are far more pessimistic. They think that the country's sudden transition to the market may give rise to tens of millions of unemployed in the USSR.

[Ryzhkov] I categorically oppose sudden transitions of this kind. I do not think that the economy will tolerate great advances of this kind, the country is neither psychologically nor economically prepared for drastic advances. The people will simply not give us their support if millions of people are cast out onto the street tomorrow with no chance of finding another job as a result of the rapid transition to the market.

Car Bomb Falls Off, Defused in Moscow

LD0708105890 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT
7 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The owners of a car parked outside a house in Moscow narrowly escaped death after a car bomb attached to the underside of the vehicle fell off.

Law enforcement officers fenced off the area, while engineers defused the bomb. In their opinion, the bomb had been expertly made.

Its design had double protection from the break of an electric circuit. The explosion of the magnesium-bertholite mixture had to be triggered by a detonator based on fulminate of mercury.

The criminal's only mistake was in calculating the force of magnets holding the bomb in place. In the opinion of engineers, the bomb could have destroyed the car and damaged buildings over wide area.

An investigation has begun.

Democratic Union Official Arrested*90UN2541A Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 1*

[Article by P. Varfolomeyev: "Fishing for a Scandal"]

[Text] Voronezh—The political march through Voronezh in which Valeriya Novodvorskaya, member of the coordination council of the Democratic Union party, participated came to a sad ending.

She was sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment at the court hearing that took place yesterday.

The day before several dozen activists from the local people's front marched along the main street of the city. They were carrying slogans and placards denouncing the CPSU and the Soviets of People's Deputies. They also tried to discredit the integrity and the prestige of the USSR president. This action was timed to coincide with the arrival of V. Novodvorskaya who joined the first ranks of the marchers.

In the rayon Department of Internal Affairs Novodvorskaya stated categorically that the union she represented called upon the people not to observe public order and not to obey Soviet laws. The final goal of the march was to lay a barbed wire wreath at the monument of Vladimir Ulyanov.

We only have to add that her supporters and participants in the same march—Aksenov, Baskakov, and Volk—also found themselves in the roles of the accused. Their hearing was postponed until some other facts are cleared up.

Memorial, Democratic Union Interviews Presented*LD0408092890*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 3 August, during its "Gallery" program presented by Olga Krivosheeva and Oleg Vakulovskiy, broadcasts a 30-minute series of interviews with Memorial and Democratic Union members.

Yuriy Afanasyev, USSR people's deputy and cochairman of the board of the Memorial society, says in an interview that because of the absence of democratic institutions, there could be a resurgence of totalitarianism in the USSR. The aim of the organization is to restore "society's social memory." Lev Ponomarev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy, member of the working collegium of the Memorial board, says that no democratic organization should call itself a "political conscience": it is up to others to recognize it as such. He says that Sakharov was an ideological influence on the organization. Afanasyev says that, like a stream, Memorial should enter the wider river of forces striving to reinstate society's social memory along a path of democracy that will "culminate in our being united with mankind." There must never be a repetition of what happened in the Stalinist period. Ponomarev says that initially there were no problems

with the authorities. Afanasyev says that Memorial is as yet unregistered as a public organization. Video shows Memorial staff at work, footage of the late Academician Sakharov, and film of deserted prison camps.

Interviews with three Democratic Union members are prefaced by footage of a Democratic Union rally. A man later captioned as Aleksandr Lukashov, "member of the Moscow coordinating council of the Democratic Union party" is shown telling the crowd that the Democratic Union "is the only party, the only public organization that believes that the truth alone must serve the cause of democratization. Don't think that the ruling Communist Party, even its liberal part, is interested in this truth. It isn't." Valeriya Novodvorskaya, later captioned as "member of the Moscow coordinating council of the Democratic Union party," is shown at the rally saying, "Comrades, learn to organize strikes!" Interviewed, Novodvorskaya says that the "state authorities" are allowing programs about a multiparty system in the Soviet Union "in order to demonstrate to the country and the world that under this system and with these authorities a multiparty system and democracy are possible in our country." "The Democratic Union is a party of struggle, a party of struggle against the existing state system and for a different, democratic state system, which until now has illegitimately been called capitalism, and which is pluralist democracy." She explains that her idea of a democratic state is one "based on a civil society, which is completely absent in our country" and "of course it does not have the crazy goal of building the latest radiant classless utopia, like communism or socialism."

Lukashov then says that the Democratic Union is in favor of a "heterogeneous market economy." "The economic policy of the present-day state is based on the utopian idea of socialism, which in turn, is founded on two or three false dogmas. The first of these dogmas is public ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the second is the absence of the exploitation of man by man." Lukashov says that "a certain period of privatization must occur, starting even with small elements, perhaps small forms of ownership, to enable the market and the system of economic relations in general to subsequently select which form of ownership is going to be profitable, which form will survive, which enterprises will prove viable, and so on". An unnamed third member of the group says: "The trouble is that totalitarianism is commonly linked to mass repressions, and people say that if there are no mass repressions, then there is no totalitarian society. But I would say that Stalinism and mass repressions did not constitute totalitarianism in its final version. It was a stage in the development of totalitarianism."

Novodvorskaya says: "If we had had a civil society in our country, the regime would have fallen the day after the genocide in Tbilisi and the shooting of insurgents in Baku, and after today's attempts to stifle, today's stifling of Lithuania's freedom. People—if they were genuinely free citizens—would not put up for a single day with the

existence of the last colonial empire on earth. For the USSR is a colonial, totalitarian empire. There is no union, and it never existed. It was all done with force and bayonets." She goes on to say that "we have no intention of staging a coup—indeed this is impossible: you can establish a totalitarian dictatorship with a coup, but you can't achieve democracy using dictatorship." The role of the party is to "suggest a way—but if the people do not go that way, we shall be in a hopeless position."

Lukashov then says that the Democratic Union, which emerged as "a moral challenge to the system, as it were," also has an educational and mobilizing role. In film of a street rally, Novodvorskaya is shown saying through a megaphone: "There is no such thing as the USSR, and it has not existed in the nature of things. What exists is the Third Rome, you see. The Third Rome itself. Two Romes fell. The Third Rome stands. So let the Third Rome fall!"

Asked about the Democratic Union's participation in rallies in February, Novodvorskaya says: "On 4 and 25 February, we did indeed go out into the street, not on behalf of the party, but just to introduce a certain element of bitterness into the universal festive mood, to tell people that the revolution that they illegitimately talk about is not a revolution, that it is a Sunday revolution, the saturnalia of Roman slaves who were granted freedom for a day, for a whole day, and the next day they returned to the yoke of their masters."

Lukashov then says: "We believe it is necessary to set up citizens' committees, independent of the state authorities, bodies of local self-government, which at the present stage would be performing the function of disseminators of information, an educational function, a monitoring and criticizing function, and as the destabilization of the situation proceeds—this is an objective, inevitable process, by the way—and the present structures of state authority collapse, they would be performing the function of a parallel authority, in order to subsequently fully assume the functions of authority proper."

In a final shot of a Democratic Union rally, Novodvorskaya is shown saying: "Be ready for national demonstrations, and strikes if the demonstrations prove insufficient." The video shows interviews with the three, intercut with footage of Democratic Union rallies, at one of which a man burns a photograph of Lenin.

Marxist, Democratic Platforms Issue Joint Appeal

PM0608114390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

["Discussion Page No. 55" appeal by Coordinating Council of Marxist Platform in CPSU and Working Group of Communist Reformers Section of Democratic Platform in CPSU: "We Remain in the CPSU's Ranks"—first three paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] One of the dramatic moments of the 28th CPSU Congress came when the Democratic Platform announced its break with the party. This was at once followed by a speech by G. Gusev, who explained to delegates that the previous speaker had not been speaking in the name of all this movement's supporters.

Back at the Second All-Union Conference of the Democratic Platform, held in Moscow in June this year, some of its delegates, concerned at the leaders' clearly manifested intention to work toward a break with the CPSU, announced the creation of the Communist Reformers Section. It included those supporters of the Democratic Platform who intend to continue the struggle for the party's radical renewal and who see the potential of its further democratization. No wonder that the Democratic Platform's statement of withdrawal from the CPSU elicited an immediate protest from representatives of that trend.

The Communist Reformers Section has recently been working in contact with the Marxist Platform in the CPSU. Despite certain ideological differences, much in common has been revealed in these trends' tactical tasks. They regard the creation of a broad democratic movement of communists, capable not only of effectively advancing the cause of the party's renewal but also of vigorously opposing the anticommunist trends which are being manifested in society, as one of the most important tasks today. We publish below the text of an appeal adopted by the Coordinating Council of the Marxist Platform in the CPSU and a working group of the Communist Reformers Section of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU:

The crisis phenomena are not easing. The situation in the country remains complex. Political struggle is intensifying, and the wave of anticommunist actions is growing. While taking a number of steps along the path of the party's democratization, the 28th CPSU Congress failed to produce a clear and distinct concept of the country's emergence from the crisis and to lay the foundations of the party's radical renewal.

In this situation the withdrawal of some CPSU members from its ranks is continuing. In addition to those who long ago broke with the CPSU ideologically and are waging an open struggle against it, people who are sincerely devoted to the cause of perestroika but are disillusioned about the party's capacity for self-renewal are also leaving the party.

Taking a critical attitude to the congress results, we believe that the party possesses adequate potential for determining the country's way out of the crisis and for resolute renewal and democratization.

We supporters of the Marxist Platform in the CPSU and the Communist Reformers Section of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU intend to promote the resolution of the tasks facing the CPSU while remaining in its ranks.

Our tasks are:

- to work on a program for the country's extrication from the crisis and to define our society's development prospects;
- to draw up and implement measures for the further democratization of the party and society;
- to realize in full the entire positive potential contained in the decisions and documents of the 28th CPSU Congress;
- to counter the anticommunist processes in society, as well as the conservative and liquidationist sentiments in the CPSU;
- to establish and strengthen ties with the workers movement, the Peasant Union, youth organizations, and communist deputies' factions in soviets at all levels;
- to extend our influence in working people's mass democratic organizations;
- to promote the consolidation of democratic forces of socialist orientation.

We have to jointly work out the tactics of coordinated actions at the All-Union Conference scheduled for October 1990. This conference will decide the question of creating a broad democratic movement of communists and organizing its activity.

But there are urgent matters which we should concentrate on fulfilling right now.

A discussion of the results of the 28th CPSU Congress is getting under way in party organizations. This is a good opportunity to convey to the general public our assessment of its results and our ideas about the party's future.

The new CPSU Program is starting to be drawn up. We must present our view of this very important document.

Elections of party bureaus and committees will begin in the very near future. It is important at all levels to support candidates who are capable of bringing their organizations' activities closer to life.

The second stage of the Constituent Congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party is to be held. In connection with this it is necessary to draw up and submit joint proposals on fundamental questions of the congress' work and to determine the operating tactics and the line of conduct depending on the situation that takes shape there.

Although elections to organs of Soviet power were held recently, preparations for future election campaigns must begin right now. A situation where the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or certain republican soviets might be disbanded cannot be ruled out. The upcoming elections on a multiparty basis will be difficult for communists. It is now necessary to win and strengthen

positions in territorial party organizations, whose role will increase appreciably, and also in clubs and associations of voters.

We have to take an active part in the struggle for social justice and the spiritual revival of society and for the revision of the residual principle in financing culture and science, as well as in rights-protection, nature-conservation, and other actions expressing the interests of working people as participants in production, as consumers, and as citizens.

We must considerably strengthen our positions in the Armed Forces and help to resolve servicemen's problems under conditions of conversion and the reduction in defense spending.

Party clubs and other horizontal structures must become centers coordinating and directing all this work. In them it is expedient to constantly discuss questions of tactics and strategy, to formulate our positions on them, to familiarize communists with them, and to forward our documents to party committees at all levels. It is important to preserve and extend the network of them, arrange ties among them, create federations of them, disseminate information about their activities, seek their registration with local party committees, and demand the publication of their materials in party press organs.

We count on your active participation in the CPSU's democratic renewal, hope for cooperation and support, and appeal for specific actions with regard to democratic transformations in labor collectives and party organizations.

Republic Interior Ministers End Moscow Conference

PM0608130990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 90 Morning Edition p3

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR MVD"]

[Text] A conference of Union republic internal affairs ministers was held in Moscow. Representatives of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Armenian, and Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] MVD's [Ministry of Internal Affairs] discussed tasks arising in the process of transforming the country's national-state system.

The conference voiced concern at the increase in crime and violence in society, the impudence of the crimes committed, the damage incurred, the spread of the drugs business, and the growing danger of organized crime and terrorism. The conference participants condemned the creation of illegal armed formations; their seizure of weapons; and their attacks on servicemen, militia personnel, and military and civilian facilities.

While backing the constructive efforts made by the organs of power to create a free Union of sovereign states, exercise the real sovereignty of Union republics,

and restructure the system of political and economic mutual relations, the conference participants displayed unity and mutual understanding over the need to decentralize the management of internal affairs organs. It was concluded that the powers of the USSR MVD and of Union republic MVD's must be redistributed and the local militia given rights ensuring that they bear complete responsibility for the state of and reliability of public order.

Estonia's Sillari on Congress Proceedings

90UN2419A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 14 Jul 90 p 1

[Telephone interview with Enn-Arno Sillari, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party by L. Rannamets for ETA (Estonskoye Telegrafnoye Aгенstvo); place and date not given: "Enn-Arno Sillari: The Fight Continues"—first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Thursday at the 28th CPSU Congress was a long day, filled with events, and sometimes even drama. In the morning they made public the results of the election of the party deputy general secretary, discussed the draft of the rules, and then there was the nomination of candidates for elections to the Central Committee and the Central Audit Commission, during which B. Yeltsin announced his withdrawal from the party.

"How does the congress look from the table of the Presidium?" I asked Enn-Arno Sillari, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party and member of the congress presidium.

[Sillari] The congress is beginning to slow down. We worked for a long time today. The rules were still not accepted and the commission is continuing to work on them so that everyone can go back to their own places by tomorrow morning....

[Rannamets] Was Article 22 the bone of contention about which the arguments will not die down?

[Sillari] Yes, we have voted on this article three times but a suitable variant has not been found. We are in favor of an alliance of independent communist parties of sovereign republics. There was a press conference today and we made that announcement there. The secretaries of the Communist Parties of Georgia and Moldavia clearly expressed this same viewpoint from the podium of the congress. Five Union republics, Moscow, and M. Gorbachev share our view. The addition to the preamble to the rules proposed by the general secretary satisfies us; it gives us the possibility of remaining independent as we decided to do at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia.

The resistance from the conservatives was very strong: "M. Gorbachev. You are no longer twisting arms but twisting heads!" exclaimed one of the delegates into the microphone. "After all, that will lead directly to federalism..." The people are so bound to existing stereotypes.

The party sees the cure to all problems in "unshakeable unity." The director of the electrical equipment plant imeni Kh. Pegelman, Igor Shepelevich, went so far in his response that he declared that if there is not unity, a unitary party operating according to the CPSU Rules and Program, then our Russian-speaking communists would be forced to ask the Communist Parties of Belorussia or Russia to take them under their wing. Members of the "night party" became very active and in the role of defenders of socialism spoke out in favor of retaining unity of the state. We tried to understand them, sympathized with them, and supported them. Perhaps that is why we did not manage to resolve this fundamentally important issue for the party in a way that was acceptable to all. And will we?

The question is open. If the old, strict rules based on the fundamentals of democratic centralism did not help the conservatives, what can we expect from the new....

[Rannamets] Is there hope that you will be elected a member of the Politburo?

[Sillari] That is still in question: After all, the rules have not yet been approved and then there will be elections.

The battle continues. We are almost never seen on television, our delegates are working in the commissions and participating in the preparation of the congress documents. We consider the declaration on interethnic relations to be very important. Yaak Allik is participating in the work on it....

[Rannamets] Why was it that at the suggestion of our delegation during the nomination of candidate members of the Central Committee Yaak Allik was replaced by Kalyu Komissarov?

[Sillari] We must not overload one person. Allik is a member of the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Estonia and a deputy of the Supreme Soviet....

The intelligentsia are represented in the Central Committee by such people as Gelman, Medvedev, and Ulyanov, who think as we do, as Yaak Allik himself explained. Kalyu Komissarov, who knows them well personally, can do more there.

We replaced Soobik with Simagin in the elections to the Central Audit Commission so that the vote would be positive....

[Rannamets] Could it happen that Latvia and Lithuania might be represented in the Politburo by leaders of the "night parties"?

[Sillari] Yes, that could happen.

[Rannamets] What do you think about the demise of Ligachev?

[Sillari] Ligachev himself did everything to make this come about. If he had politely thanked the congress and

the party and declared that he was leaving political life because of his old age he would have earned turbulent applause....

[Rannamets] And Yeltsin's withdrawal from the ranks of the CPSU?

[Sillari] That was not unexpected. The only thing unclear was when he would do it. He selected the time when they were considering the list of members of the Central Committee that had his name on it. The people in the hall reacted calmly. I think this was his only correct step as chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

[Rannamets] The telephone conversation ended with a promise that tomorrow many of the open questions would be clarified and we would see if the congress had enough resolve and courage to get rid of old ideas and proclaim the CPSU a union of independent communist parties of sovereign republics.

Procurator Views Depoliticization of Workplace

904F0222A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 1

[Interview with N. Demidenko, Donetsk Oblast procurator and state justice counselor second class, by M. Martynov; place and date not given: "Whose Living Space Does the Party Committee Occupy?"—first paragraph is newspaper's introduction]

[Text] *The demand to depoliticize the Army, law enforcement organs, and education, as well as to remove party committees from enterprises, was set forth in the resolutions of the first All-Union Congress of Miners recently held in Donetsk, and in those of the rallies held on 11 July. At a number of mines they switched from words to deeds: The STK's [Councils of Labor Collectives] resolved to remove party and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] committees to beyond the confines of production units. The situation is complex. Many questions come up with regard to the legal aspects of this case. Our correspondent met with N. Demidenko, Donetsk Oblast procurator and state justice counselor second class, and asked him for a legal evaluation of this phenomenon.*

[Martynov] Nikolay Kuzmich, first of all I would like to know whether the decisions of the STK's to remove party committees from their enterprises run counter to the legislation in effect.

[Demidenko] To begin with, we need to be more specific about what is at issue. The removal of party committees is painted in some newspaper articles and TV reports as virtually the immediate and complete elimination of party organizations. After all, this is not so. As far as I know, the councils of the labor collectives of the mines Yuzhnodonbasskaya No. 1, imeni Kalinin, and imeni the Chelyuskin Crew and of the mine administrations imeni the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBASS and Oktyabrskoye resolved to remove party committees from administrative and service buildings. The

party organizations themselves are not the issue, they remain and continue to operate.

Now about the legal aspect of the matter. There are no laws in our country barring parties and public organizations from engaging in political activities within labor collectives. One of the fundamental principles of law states: Everything is allowed that is not forbidden. Therefore, communists themselves should resolve the issue of whether a party organization is to be or not to be at a particular enterprise.

[Martynov] In this case, what was the basis for the decisions to remove party committees taken by the STK's?

[Demidenko] Only the right of the owner of assets. It is just that the STK's refused to rent to the party committees the rooms (offices) which the latter had always occupied, taking advantage of the Law "On State Enterprises (Associations)" which gives them extensive rights to resolve the issues of production and the social development of collectives. The decisions of the STK's were confirmed by the shift meetings of workers so that this would look like the will of the entire collective. Therefore, this action is purely economic rather than political.

[Martynov] However, the new Law "On Property in the USSR" which took effect on 1 July 1990 substantially amended the right to assets. At present, the STK is not the master of the assets of a state enterprise.

[Demidenko] Correct. According to Article 24 of the Law "On Property in the USSR," the right to manage the assets of state enterprises, which is what mines are, belongs to the state organs and individuals so empowered. The director is such an individual at a mine. Consequently, the STK is incompetent to resolve the issue of depriving a particular public organization of its "living space."

[Martynov] What is to be done if an STK decision has already been made and approved by a collective?

[Demidenko] Article 34 of the Law "On Property in the USSR" states that acts violating the rights of owners are illegal and may be disputed in the courts.

[Martynov] Therefore, is litigation in store?

[Demidenko] Apparently so, unless they succeed in resolving the issue otherwise. However, I hope that it will not come to court proceedings after all, that passions will die down, and that common sense will prevail. However, as I see it, party committees should draw serious conclusions from the current situation. The refusal to provide "living space" for a committee testifies first of all to the absence of any authority in the labor collective. Simply put, the people do not see it as being useful, they believe that it will not be any worse without the committee. I understand that this seems offensive, but it is so. The court may return his office to the secretary of a party committee but it cannot restore the respect of the people which the party committee has lost.

[Martynov] Indeed, a master would not get rid of a good worker. Let us hope that these facts will become a stern warning to the party committees and will make them improve the efficiency of their work. How can you evaluate the demands to depoliticize law enforcement organs, in particular the Procuracy?

[Demidenko] In all honesty I have not yet come to a final determination on this issue. Why? Because the notion of depoliticization is interpreted variously. When they mean creating independent courts, procurator's offices, the militia, and the KGB, I vote in favor with both hands, because I have been generously exposed to the infamous "law of the telephone," quiet moralizing, and heavy-handed "persuasion." I have seen how my colleagues break and how their consciousness and character are deformed by the crude pressure of the powers that be. This is to say nothing of the victims of such "justice." Now we are getting rid of these abnormalities, if slowly. The so-called nomenklatura method of selecting cadres for law enforcement organs is also becoming obsolete. The staff is being recruited mainly on the basis of professionalism and the moral traits of the employees. A party membership card is no longer a ticket to the administration of justice. Nonparty members account for 15 percent of the employees of the procurator's office even now. I agree that political departments in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the Army should not be appendages of the CPSU. It is necessary to transform them into the services of cadre training and education.

However, I take a negative view of the kind of depoliticization whereby we are required to leave the CPSU. This means a ban on party members in certain professions. Besides, the question is: Does a man really "turn in" his convictions together with his party card and truly remain above politics? Hardly. Most likely, he adjusts and disguises himself in the name of his career. I would have qualms about trusting such a man with the administration of justice.

[Martynov] However, as the proponents of such measures argue, the resignation of a judge, or a procurator, from the party releases him from the control of a party committee and makes him more independent.

[Demidenko] I do not think so. Nature abhors a vacuum. Nobody has succeeded thus far in living within a society and being completely free of it. It looks as though judges, while still failing to eliminate the influence of the party, are already ending up dependent to a still greater degree on soviets and other forces. This is why one's party affiliation is not the issue; the issue is to create an environment in which the employees of law enforcement organs obey the law and nothing but the law.

KGB Allegations Against Kalugin Refuted

90UF0382A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 30, 28 Jul-3 Aug 90 p 7

[Article by N. Belov under the rubric "The KGB and Glasnost": "I Beg To Disagree"]

[Text] KGB Major General Oleg Danilovich Kalugin was discharged to the reserves 25 March 1990. On 26 March he was received as the guest of USSR People's Deputy Yu. Afanasyev. Afanasyev entrusted the general to my care, and I believe I did everything I could to bring Kalugin in touch with the Soviet and foreign mass media.

I did not serve in the KGB myself, but began my career as a junior research assistant at one of the scientific research institutes of the GRU [Main Intelligence Administration] system in the USSR Ministry of Defense, where I spent two years. It was there, as I observed the GRU "from within," reading open-source CIA materials and other specialized literature, that I began to formulate my own view of the secret services in general, and the Soviet secret services in particular.

Kalugin's former department sent him on his deserved holiday with disgust, but with all the appropriate honors. They booted me out of the GRU in December 1980 with an annotation of disgrace in my employment book ("for systematic failure to observe internal regulations").

And now to turn to the piece by citizen O. Tsarev, published in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. The impudence with which this author titles his writings—"Living Not by Lies"—is astonishing. The title was stolen from A. Solzhenitsyn, former subject of a Chekist hunt nowhere close to the thirties!

Tsarev is incorrect, putting it mildly, when he asserts that the numerical strength of the special services establishments is kept secret throughout the world—such information is known at the very least by the parliamentary committees and commissions of the appropriate countries. USSR Supreme Soviet committees do not have this data—because the KGB, as before, remains outside the control of our legislators.

Nor is Tsarev correct when he denies that the KGB has "any numerous armed formations for combating mass disturbances," insofar as he cannot help but know about such a service of the Armed Forces as KGB troops. In my reply to the appeal of the "conference of representatives of units of the central apparatus of the USSR KGB" published in the small, independent newspaper DOVERIYE [Trust], I stated a figure for KGB troops of 12 divisions (at least 150,000 men). The KGB did not refute my reply, and so I must be right. And why do they maintain KGB forces if not to use them for averting interethnic carnage? Or for an all-Union state of emergency?

"...It is blasphemous and exceedingly unjust to say that our Armed Forces are fighting with the people themselves" (O. Tsarev). In Tbilisi, apparently, it was the U.S. Marines working people over with their entrenching tools. And in Vilnius it was CIA "commandos" guarding CPSU property.

The civilized world knows full well that the opportunities for control over special services are limited precisely by virtue of their relative secrecy, and therefore considers it insane to subordinate troops to them. Who has heard of CIA regiments, or "Intelligence Service" divisions?

Why does V. Kryuchkov command border troops in addition—at least 300,000 men according to estimates? Why is the KGB taking food away from V. Bakatin? Why not give the Ministry of Internal Affairs Chekist units in the fight against organized crime?

It is quite remarkable that the draft law on the KGB being pushed by O. Tsarev is not known in society. But it proposes to "quite openly" hold on to all the worst which has been carefully preserved by today's Chekists from preceding generations. The draft lacks an interpretation of the very concept of "state security" (which O. Kalugin addressed, incidentally). On the other hand, it firmly establishes office work and records-keeping only in the Russian language and the KGB's right to continue clandestine work among USSR citizens themselves. And it proposes to entrust control of observance of legality in KGB activities to...the KGB.

I, an assistant to a USSR people's deputy, worked on "obtaining" this draft law over a period of a month and a half. I am convinced that 95 percent of Union legislators are generally unaware of it, and that it will be brought up for their examination "half an hour before it is due," when the deputies will simply not be technically able to insert significant changes into it.

It is ludicrous, Citizen Tsarev, to demand from a reserve general (and now a former one—thanks to the efforts of the KGB) the concealment of "affiliation with intelligence," to intimidate him with the oath of silence imposed "in England upon employees of the special services, including former employees." Can it be that the KGB library has no memoirs of these people "bound by the oath of silence"? And were their authors most likely all executed for treason against the imperialist motherland? While I'm at it, I recall that O. Kalugin appears in a listing of 1,500 names of employees of Soviet special services abroad included in J. Barron's book "The KGB."

On 12 July the USSR KGB informed Kalugin that, after 32 years of irreproachable service, he would not receive a single kopek more from "his" former department. It seems the "perestroyka people" at Lubyanka have forgotten about the right of security in old age guaranteed to citizens by the USSR Constitution. Although it is true they can still deny Kalugin his citizenship—the KGB has a rich experience in this regard....

Deputies Seek KGB Probe; Kalugin on Allegations *90UN2411A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 2*

[Letters from a group of USSR people's deputies from the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (Komsomol) and from O. Kalugin concerning the KGB]

[Text] On 20 June of this year, our newspaper published an interview with retired KGB Major General O. Kalugin. In response, the KGB Center for Public Liaison shifted the topic to discussing O. Kalugin's personality traits, and subsequently he was stripped of his rank and all state decorations at the request of the KGB. Today we are giving the floor to the now former major general for a response to the accusations leveled against him. We stress that the personality of Kalugin (who, incidentally, had 22 orders and medals) is not the point, but the issues he has raised are. This is why we support an appeal by USSR people's deputies demanding an independent parliamentary investigation of the facts outlined by Kalugin.

Deputies: An Investigation Is Needed

To A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Recently, there has been more openness and glasnost in the operations of the USSR KGB—meetings with journalists have been held and presentations by the leaders of the committee have been organized.

At the same time, the absence to this day of clear-cut legislative norms to regulate the status and activities of the organs of state security and of due control by the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet creates a favorable environment for various violations and irregularities.

For a long time, a substantial number of departmental instructions and directives, geared mainly to the assignments of party organs, only kept the KGB out of the zone of concern of deputies and all criticism, and kept its employees in the ranks of "the armed detachment of the party."

As a study of the materials from previous sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet indicates, in the last 10 years the operation of the Committee for State Security has not been analyzed once. The USSR people's deputies have no information at all on KGB activities from the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Issues either.

In some mass media, highly placed KGB employees (Colonel Karpovich, General Kalugin) have lifted the veil from individual tendencies and directions of work of the KGB organs inside the country and abroad.

Believing that their statements are quite serious and are in need of detailed verification, we consider the following necessary:

1. To initiate a deputy investigation aimed at verifying that the instructions and directives in effect in the KGB

organization comply with the laws of the USSR, and to create a special commission of deputies for this purpose, in keeping with Article 17 of the USSR Law "On the Status of USSR People's Deputies."

2. To propose that the USSR KGB chairman render the assistance necessary to conduct the investigation and to provide the information and documents necessary for an objective study of the issue.

3. We believe it is expedient to study the following aspects of USSR KGB activities in the course of the investigation:

a) the budget of the committee—items of expenditure, who confirms the budget and how;

b) the staff of the committee—the expediency of existing structures and prospects for their reduction;

c) the real subordination of the committee—the structure of decision-making in the center and in the field, who the consumer of the information is, and what the role of the CPSU leadership is;

d) information on the specific avenues of activity of the committee:

—how true is General Kalugin's assertion that political surveillance, which is incompatible with the principles of a democratic state, exists in our country;

—on whose instructions and to what ends are telephone conversations monitored, and special equipment used;

—characterization of previous activities of the Fifth and Ninth USSR KGB Administrations;

—does the practice of physical elimination of political adversaries exist at present;

—do KGB organs use the method of disinformation through the mass media;

—operations of the committee with regard to opposition parties, public organizations, and strike committees—infiltration and recruitment of agents, discredit, and so on;

—compliance of the operations of the committee with the international norms of human rights—surveillance, files, and so on.

We ask that the issue of conducting a parliamentary investigation and creating a special commission for this issue be put on the agenda of the Fourth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] USSR People's Deputies from the Komsomol A. Plotnikov, A. Kazarin, N. Denisov, A. Saprykin, Yu. Chemodanov, B. Mukhamedzhanov, M. Prusak, E. Mamedov, V. Gubin, K. Gezhin, O. Osokina, A. Kolo-deznikov, A. Trubin, A. Sharonov.

Let Us Not Get Personal

I do not believe that it is ethical to enter into a discussion at the level and in the spirit which the KGB Center for Public Liaison has set. Getting personal is not the best way to resolve disputes involving matters of principle. However, it is apparently necessary to provide explanations because a number of specific accusations have been leveled against me, all the more so because the KGB leadership considers possible a public discussion of the details of some operational affairs which I have dealt with.

During my tenure as the head of external counterintelligence (1973-1980), the Soviet intelligence service did not have a single agent among the CIA employees. This is why it was impossible to lose anything due to my "incompetent presumptuous actions." Furthermore, there is a transparent allusion to "an information leak which was far from innocuous" and which is held against me. Let us call a spade a spade. Between 1960 and 1980, three KGB employees fled to the West. Since 1980, about 20 people have betrayed their motherland (the last fugitive went to Belgium this spring). Therefore, we can say firmly that what has occurred is the transfer and sale to the West of most secrets of the Soviet intelligence service and the complete loss of a tremendous number of agent networks, rather than an information leak. However, all of this is thoroughly concealed from the public.

The same communique from the Center for Public Liaison refers to scientist (for some reason, in quotation marks) K, whose guilt in speculating in currency and antiques I supposedly confirmed myself. I met K while still in the United States. Fearing persecution, he left for the USSR in 1964, and was a great help to Soviet specialists in creating modern types of rocket fuel. However, having encountered outrages in our country, he began to voice dissident attitudes, due to which he attracted the attention of the Moscow KGB Administration. Failing to understand how the scientist (he was of Russian descent) could return to the Union voluntarily, the Moscow Chekists began to suspect that something was wrong and to study him as a CIA spy. Nothing could be proven. Then they decided to dangle before him an agent-provocateur, a specialist in hard-currency operations. K was arrested in the course of a transaction and sentenced to seven years. I wrote a memo to Andropov with a request to reconsider the case, and asked for this in person during a conversation, feeling morally responsible for the man who returned to his inhospitable motherland because of me. It was to no avail. At present, K is free; he may tell his story himself.

The last point, concerning "the Gatchina case." At the time, about 40 people were arrested on charges of bribery in the party and soviet apparatus. The case was handled together with the oblast procuracy and the Main Administration of Internal Affairs. Not a single person arrested made complaints about the procedure of the investigation. The procurator of the oblast and the CPSU obkom [oblast committee] highly praised the harmonious work

of the law enforcement organs until such time as testimony concerning the high level of bribery in the executive committee of the Leningrad Soviet and the party obkom surfaced. The case was dropped on the instructions of the obkom, in conjunction with which I lodged protests with the USSR procurator general and the Party Control Commission of the CPSU Central Committee. Nobody was disciplined within the KGB, to say nothing of "severely disciplined," as they now maintain.

These are the real circumstances of cases through which the KGB leadership decided to demonstrate the full extent of the unseemliness of my personality. Yet, I fail to understand what they have to do with the issues of political and organizational restructuring of the KGB which I raise in my public statements.

[Signed] O. Kalugin

Komsomol Secretary Zyukin Interviewed

90US1213A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 31 Jul 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Vladimir Zyukin, first secretary of the VLKSM Central Committee, by Yuriy Ragozin, at Zyukin's office at the VLKSM Central Committee in Moscow; date not given: "At Present, One Does Not Further His Career in the Komsomol"]

[Text] *It has become a tradition for every political functionary to celebrate his first 100 days in a new post. Recently, Vladimir Zyukin, first secretary of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, Komsomol] Central Committee, also celebrated this anniversary.*

The hairstyle of Vladimir Zyukin could make Alain Delon jealous. Could it be that a PRAVDA rebuke had such an effect? The point is that some time ago the main party newspaper published a letter from its reader who was angered by the appearance of the VLKSM Central Committee first secretary: He was disheveled, he wore a sleeveless jacket, and in general... A short editorial afterword suggested that the readers discuss what the leader of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] should look like when he appears in public.

His picture with an ideally neat hairstyle graced the pages of that same PRAVDA issue in which the pictures of all delegates who spoke at the 28th CPSU Congress were published.

When I came to Zyukin's office and became convinced that his appearance was the customary working and somewhat disheveled one, I somehow felt better about the Komsomol. He was wearing a white shirt with the collar unbuttoned and his sleeves rolled up.

Three months is not a lot of time in a new position. However, if we take into account the fact that he has set a limit for it himself—to stay here about one and a half years—even 100 days is a lot. He has already managed to

accomplish certain things. He shouldered a large segment of the 21st VLKSM Congress himself, though he started it still as number two in the Komsomol. A new statute was adopted; and we may say about many of its provisions: This is for the first time. For the first time the VLKSM Central Committee, which became sharply bolder, submitted its platform for the 28th CPSU Congress. Zyukin's speech at the congress was definitely not to the liking of at least one-third of party functionary-delegates. However, more about that later.

[Ragozin] Volodya, there are empty spots left after someone's portraits on the walls of your office...

[Zyukin] In my previous office two portraits hung on the wall, but they were above me. In this office, I shrink as soon as I sit down at this desk: No matter which way I look, they all stare at me!...

[Ragozin] Lenin is the only one to remain.... Have they denounced you?

[Zyukin] So far, they have not. After all, this is not an art gallery; this is an office to work in.

[Ragozin] What is your own feeling: Have you gone "to the left" or "to the right" recently?

[Zyukin] Our overall movement has been to the left. Those who are no longer in a position to take a step forward are the exception. There are those even among the relatively young who are no longer in a position to prevail. Life goes on, but they cannot keep up; as soon as they begin to fall behind they stop and put the brakes on, and do so forcefully.

[Ragozin] I think it was IZVESTIYA that wrote that the spirit of Zyukin's speech at the country's party congress was close to the presentation by Yeltsin. What do you think about this comparison?

[Zyukin] I believe that this evaluation is based on how keenly they were received by the audience rather than on content, because we spoke about somewhat different things. Boris Nikolayevich took a philosophical, pragmatic, and highly programmatic view of the situation. For my part, I touched on issues of the mentality of our party at present and on what needs to be changed in this mentality from our point of view. Meanwhile, a journalist drew conclusions based on my final phrase about the possibility of perestroika going on without the party unless the latter speeds up its progress.

[Ragozin] In general, what do you think of Yeltsin?

[Zyukin] He is a prominent political figure. His first steps in the Supreme Soviet of Russia are very hopeful. He has shown an ability to perceive what they expect and want now. The main point is that he may use the yet untapped force of those who were in opposition. Look at his moves—two ministers who are 32 years old! Or that a youth structure in the executive organs of power is being created from the very beginning!... That is to say, Yeltsin is attracting fresh forces by new endeavors. This

is very good. Many decisions of the parliament of Russia are prompting the center to hurry as far as the issues of the Union treaty and the delineation of powers are concerned.

In general, my sincere wish is for relations between Gorbachev and Yeltsin to develop in a more human way. The forces that stand behind them are just too big. It seems to me that our movement forward would be speeded up greatly if these forces cooperate rather than oppose each other.

[Ragozin] What has changed in the work of the Central Committee apparatus and in the Central Committee itself since you were elected first secretary?

[Zyukin] The Central Committee was formed along new guidelines; the congress determined its functions. Along with functional commissions, three councils were set up which are to give the Central Committee their opinions—Councils on working youth, on school and college students, and on servicemen. Proposals are being worked out for solving the social problems of all three categories. We are going to submit them to our parliament and the government.

New functionaries have appeared in the Central Committee—a secretary for liaison with the state organs, a chairman of the coordination committee for liaison with youth organizations. Our people meet with socialists, social democrats, and anarchist-syndicalists.... They try to find something in common.

We have fewer meetings by an order of magnitude. An organ such as the Secretariat exists no longer; we have the Bureau. Previously the Secretariat, the highest echelon in the apparatus, frequently governed everything. At present, if decisions are made collectively this is done by the Bureau. After that, every secretary is personally accountable for what he does.

[Ragozin] Who belongs to the Bureau at present, apart from the secretaries?

[Zyukin] Actually, from among the secretaries only the first and the second secretaries, and the one in charge of international contacts, belong to the Bureau.

[Ragozin] Perhaps many people dislike this approach.

[Zyukin] It is understandable that many people do. However, this is necessary if we really want the separation of powers. We have 15 representatives of all Union republics in the Bureau. Also, it was resolved that representatives of the subjects of the federation would account for two-thirds of the membership of the Bureau so that the center would not have a majority of votes in any event. Previously, 11 secretaries gathered together with the leader of the Moscow City Committee, and we were always in a majority. It does not happen this way now.

[Ragozin] What kind of people are the new secretaries of the Komsomol Central Committee?

[Zyukin] They are very different. Let us look at Andrey Aleynikov. Politics and culture are his field. He was the first secretary of the Leningrad City Committee of the Komsomol, and later worked as a senior instructor at a university. A wise man, it is a pleasure to work with him.

Andrey Sharonov, secretary for liaison with the parliament, was my competitor in elections at the congress. He is the first Central Committee secretary of Komsomol age in the last decades—he is 26. His highest previous post in the Komsomol was that of secretary of the Komsomol Committee at the University of Ufa. Later he became a people's deputy and chairman of the subcommittee for students of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs.

Let us take, for example, Sergey Zhuravlev from among the "traditional." He was chief of the international department. He is fluent in two languages. We have been friends for many years, but I found out completely by chance that he was wounded in action and has the Order of the Red Banner....

Sasha Zinchenko was chief of the propaganda department, at present he is chairman of the coordinating committee for liaison with youth organizations. Incidentally, he plays the guitar and sings beautifully. By the way, Andrey Sharonov does too.

Victor Chepurin was chief of the organizational department; he became a secretary. He is a master of sports in boxing. Others are also very interesting. All of them have achieved something apart from their professions; their inner world is richer than that of those who go along their way with blinders on and do not look around.

[Ragozin] Are you not embarrassed by the fact that almost all of them are past Komsomol age?

[Zyukin] I definitely am. Of course we need rejuvenation. However, any reasonable action needs to be gradual. I have already picked several people as replacements, including nonparty members. There is one who was born in 1968....

[Ragozin] Do you believe that all those you have mentioned have come here for reasons other than their careers?

[Zyukin] It is of no use to say at present that they have come to the Komsomol to advance their careers. Later, it will be more difficult for us to come to a determination than it will be for others.

[Ragozin] What criteria do you use to evaluate the professionalism of a Komsomol functionary?

[Zyukin] As far as raykoms [rayon party committees], where we have four or five people, are concerned, these should be people with some spark, receptive to new ideas, and not afraid of coming to the people and talking to them. As far as the apparatus of the VLKSM Central Committee is concerned, greater specialization is required here. However, as I see it there are common

requirements—to perceive what is happening realistically and to be able to draw practical conclusions, generate ideas, and, of course, be knowledgeable in the sphere of politics and economics. One more thing. I may be exaggerating somewhat, but it seems to me that at present the integrity of an individual is the foremost, decisive trait on which everything else grows, like muscles on bones.

[Ragozin] Some people come, others go.... I believe that it is no secret at all where former Komsomol Central Committee secretaries go. However, few people know about this, apart from apparatchiks. Where are the former leaders of the Central Committee at present?

[Zyukin] Viktor Mironenko became first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Department for Work with Public and Political Organizations. Nikolay Paltsev is an executive organizer in the CPSU Central Committee. Sergey Rogozhkin will go to Bulgaria and head the House of Friendship. Iosif Ordzhonikidze has been confirmed as first deputy chairman of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee.

[Ragozin] What will the Komsomol Central Committee do if all the republics have independent youth organizations?

[Zyukin] If you read our new statute attentively, it will become clear that to a great degree it has already been adjusted to the organization you are referring to. For the first time a resolution was adopted at the supreme forum of the VLKSM which states in black and white what the Central Committee should engage in and what its powers are as far as the binding nature of decisions is concerned. We do not have the right to make binding decisions, with the exception of, for example, the date of holding a congress, the rate of representation at it, and certain other issues. That is to say, we retain our coordinating functions because in the future as well some of the functions in the state will remain at the Union level while everything else will be transferred to lower levels. In the last three months we have not adopted a single resolution which says: To obligate. All we can do is invite the attention of the Komsomol committees to certain issues. At present the Central Committee handles in the Union echelon those issues that representatives of the subjects of the federation have entrusted to it, rather than giving commands as was the case before.

[Ragozin] It would be interesting to learn whether anyone in the CPSU Central Committee was hurt by the fact that the VLKSM Central Committee worked out its own position for the party congress at a plenum for the first time in many decades?

[Zyukin] Of course, there are people in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the party who are, perhaps, upset over the unauthorized independence of the Komsomol. However, at present nobody takes it upon himself to say that we "go too far" anymore.

[Ragozin] Time out. Let us digress from business for a moment. Tell us whether you have an account in the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity.

[Zyukin] I do not have an account even in the non-"foreign" bank. To be sure, there are some savings. For 14 years now I have been planning to buy a car....

[Ragozin] Tell us, please, how you managed by your appearance to offend the severe TV viewer who wrote to PRAVDA.

[Zyukin] The congress ended at 0200. I was elected first secretary...

[Ragozin] Incidentally, on a competitive basis for the first time...

[Zyukin] Yes, initially there were six candidates, and two remained after the second round of voting—Andrey Sharonov and me.

[Ragozin] By what margin did you win?

[Zyukin] Just barely... It was morning by the time I got home and ate my breakfast; I went to bed for about three hours, and then to the office. Naturally, my hair stood on end. I arrived, and here the guys from the Vremya program caught me by surprise....

[Ragozin] Volodya, what will your attitude be if one of the secretaries announces that he is quitting the CPSU?

[Zyukin] As I see it, there will be no such statements by the current secretaries. The decisions of Yeltsin, Popov, and Sobchak cannot be automatically applied to the Komsomol: Our situation is different. Over there the organs of state power are at issue, whereas we are a youth organization which is closely associated with the party. Such statements could have been made had conservatives prevailed at the congress.

[Ragozin] ...This was not reflected in official reports. The newspapers communicated only that a new composition of the CPSU Central Committee was elected. Nonetheless, the situation at the congress developed dramatically during the elections.

Along with the first list proposed by local committees, there was one more list of 85 people—"the quota of the general secretary." Zyukin also ended up on it. New names were added to it from the floor until it got to be 99. It became an election on a sort of alternative basis. Incidentally, when the list was still being compiled a delegate from Krasnodar mounted the podium who said that, being a former Komsomol functionary, he was ashamed of Zyukin who insulted Komsomol functionaries by his speech, and proposed that Zyukin be dropped from the list. The word "Correct!" was heard from all over the auditorium.

They had a vote. Zyukin came in 95th (I repeat that the quota was 85), being blackballed by 1,587 votes. The

congress considered what to do. Were they to cut off the extra people, and thus bring it to an end?

A voice came from the podium: "If this is the decision we make, it will mean that we have worked in vain for 11 days here. We have just adopted a resolution on our youth policy, and now we are to leave out a youth leader?"

As is known, the congress voted in favor of all the 99 people due to the efforts of the general secretary and several speakers.

This is how the VLKSM Central Committee first secretary was not left outside the composition of the Central Committee, and thus the communist union was not severed from the Communist Party by the latter itself....

[Ragozin] Still, Volodya, would a department head or secretary be relieved of his responsibilities if he came to you and said: "I am loyal to the Komsomol, but I believe I should leave the party?"

[Zyukin] If an individual who quits the CPSU does not negate what our organization has, this is no argument in favor of dismissing him.

[Ragozin] Is this to say that such a deed would not affect your attitude toward him?

[Zyukin] It would not. Psychologically, I have no difficulty with this.

[Ragozin] Would you have had "difficulty," for example, as recently as a year ago?

[Zyukin] I could have failed to understand it. I just was not ready yet.

[Ragozin] Are you and your comrades-in-arms going to change the name of the youth union—delete the word "Leninist," or "Communist," or both?

[Zyukin] As far as I am concerned, the name of an organization is derived from its contents. It is important what the organization itself will turn into as a result of the 21st VLKSM Congress. After all, the congress has given the Komsomol many degrees of freedom and programmed creative processes. Look: In the Ukraine, for example, the Komsomol is an organization with its own identity. In all of this, literally the second sentence of their statute says: The provisions of the LKSMU [Leninist Communist Youth Union of the Ukraine] prevail over those in the VLKSM Statute. The organization is called the LKSMU-MDS (Youth for Democratic Socialism). It did not pass at our congress, but at theirs it did: The name was changed in part. For example, in the Komsomol of Russia collective membership has been introduced. There is the organization "Young People for the Progress of Latvia." It is possible that it will declare its collective membership in the VLKSM by the end of the year. That is to say, the congress has given the people an opportunity to make a determination in a way convenient in their sociopolitical situation. As a result, we

will arrive at a model which will be very different from the one set up at the congress. The congress did not attempt to resolve all issues and dot all "i's." Instead, it provided considerable opportunities for movement. We will think about a new name when our union organizes itself in a new manner.

[Ragozin] Would you please recall the most pleasant event in the last three months.

[Zyukin] What I will discuss is not so much a pleasant event as one that is powerful in terms of its emotional perception.

In early May, I attended the Memory Watch in Smolensk. People came together from many oblasts and searched for the remains of the fallen soldiers. I worked together with them. You see, standing knee-deep in mud, they sifted through every handful of earth in order not to lose a piece of the skull or spine. Later, all of this was washed, stored in cellophane bags, and buried. God forbid if they missed a soldier's medallion!... There was a girl there who could tell by smell whether a medallion was empty or full.... All of this was not done in order to write a formal report. I came away enlightened, with the belief that the ethical foundation of our people cannot be destroyed.

[Ragozin] Now that we are on the topic of business trips, please tell us how you travel. Do a crowd of apparatchiks see you off at the airport and wave their hands for a while when you are gone?

[Zyukin] What do you mean by "see you off?" I get into the car and go, or on a plane, not a private one, of course.

[Ragozin] How many bodyguards do you have?

[Zyukin] What are you talking about; which bodyguards?

[Ragozin] What was the most unpleasant thing in the past 100 days? Was it a failure, vexation?

[Zyukin] Vexation was considerable after the Russian Party Congress. The feeling was that it would be hard to turn somewhere later....

[Ragozin] Does the 28th CPSU Congress make you optimistic?

[Zyukin] I was apprehensive about us going to the right after the Russian Congress, and the party not being able to extricate itself after that.... However, by the end of the 28th congress some hope appeared.

[Ragozin] Do you believe that, since the Komsomol is a communist organization after all, its first secretary should be a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo?

[Zyukin] I believe that this should not be done. First of all, a system of mutual relations—cooperation—has been established as a result of the two congresses, our congress and the party congress. However, these are

independent organizations, and neither one dictates anything to the other. Secondly, at present the Politburo should spend entire days in meetings, work out a strategy, and mobilize forces. Meanwhile, I have my own intensive schedule to work with. This is why it does not make sense to be "a token presence" there.

[Ragozin] Previously, the Komsomol appeared to participate in all endeavors of the country, while at the same time it was hard to understand what the main function of it was, what the goals were. What has changed after the 21st congress? Have specific goals and bearings appeared?

[Zyukin] The new statute says: The goal of the VLKSM is to help the young people with their formation and create conditions for their participation in the building of a new society. If we attempt consolidation on the basis of ideological directives in which everyone has gotten lost by now, we will inevitably pull the organization apart into several segments which will be involved in bare politics. This is why it is exactly the social function of the Komsomol that should become the basis for unification. Let our organization be more politically tolerant and multicolored; after all, even now young people holding social democratic and socialist views belong to it. However, taking care of real people should be the unifying element.

[Ragozin] This sounds very beautiful. My feeling is that I have already heard before about taking care of the people. Could you be more specific?

[Zyukin] Fine. First of all, we take advantage of our right of legislative initiative. Immediately after the congress, at the first meeting of the Bureau, we discussed a number of draft laws which were being considered at the session of the Supreme Soviet, and submitted our proposals. We also worked out our position and submitted it to the government when the prime minister delivered a report on the transition to a market economy. We appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs with a request to hear representatives of the Council of Ministers in August on a number of specific items involving the social protection of young people under a market economy.

We have just created the "New Generation" Foundation for supporting young deputies. We will now try to help people at all levels, from rural soviets to parliament, participate in preparing draft laws, develop regional youth policies, and form youth structures of the executive organs of power. We are embarking on creating an information system—the foundation of the youth social service. We intend to seek support from the CPSU as well.

At the last plenum we resolved to use the profits of our economically accountable enterprises, which amount to 10 million rubles, for the needs of orphaned children whose fathers died in Afghanistan. This will be about 2,000 per child. The following decision was made at the congress: An overwhelming majority of slots in our

largest pioneer camps—"Artek," "Orlenok," and "Okean"—will be allocated for children from the Chernobyl area. I was in "Artek" when the first shift arrived.

[Ragozin] About half a year ago an experiment was conducted at Moscow State University: In one of the departments, registration cards were issued to all members of the Komsomol. Those who so wished turned them in, and thus remained members. Those who did not wish to did not return them.... Could it be that it makes sense to do something of this nature throughout the country?

[Zyukin] Let them go ahead if it becomes necessary somewhere. For example, the people in Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur carried out a complete reregistration. Those who confirmed that they remain in the Komsomol stayed. This means that it was necessary. However, nothing good will come out of it if we artificially force a purge in this form on all others.

[Ragozin] Can you tell us what you lack the courage to do, what keeps you back?

[Zyukin] If something keeps me back, it must be the stereotypes I have, though I am not particularly susceptible to this, I have not been entirely numbed. At least, this is what I would like to think.

[Ragozin] What do you lack time for?

[Zyukin] Many things, including a more profound understanding of the subject of my concerns, reading new literature, and seeing new movies and theater productions. Among other things, I lack time for my family, my hobbies....

[Ragozin] A short two years ago I could not have even imagined going that easily to the holy of holies in the Central Committee building, to the nook on the fourth floor where the office of the first secretary is located, and addressing him in the familiar form. Previously, even the apparatus sharks tiptoed along this runner, dreaming secretly and with relish about ending up in chair number one. A beautiful secretary, as cold as ice, as inaccessible as the peak of communism, and as polite as a phone-answering machine, tracked their backs sweating under their jackets with a slightly ironic gaze.

I caught myself thinking that I do not at all envy Zyukin, be it on account of his high status, formidable salary, or the opportunity to travel abroad infrequently on business trips. The burden he has put on his powerful shoulders appears impossible to lift. Will he be able to endure it?

Whichever way you look at it, he is a part of history now. From now on his name will be written, after a comma, along with those of other first secretaries of the Komsomol Central Committee. However, this is not the main point.

Leaving history rather than entering it is the main point, leaving in a manner different from the way it happens:

No sooner do you shut the door behind yourself than you hear angry criticism. The aim is to leave in such a way that a year later people will be glad to meet you and greet you with a sign of respect, as happened to Reagan at a stadium in Seattle.

However, so far nobody has succeeded in leaving in that fashion. It is Zyukin's turn. Will he violate the tradition?

Effects of Travel Restrictions Investigated

PM0608150790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by O. Kuzmina and Yu. Ursov: "Six Days Left To Cross the Border Under Streamlined Procedures"]

[Text] Our country's Western border is under assault. Tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, hot and bothered after many hours of waiting, are trying to get through a handful of crossover points and enter Poland, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia. The situation has been complicated by the Council of Ministers 20 July decision to ban temporarily the exit of Soviet citizens to those countries under a streamlined procedure, using ordinary citizen's passports with a special insert. That has been the thrust of many recent newspaper reports. On 27 July PRAVDA wrote about the situation on the border. The editorial office commentary raised in particular the question of what would happen next. R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Visas and Registration Administration, answers this.

[Kuznetsov] I will say straightaway that there are no legal obstacles now stopping citizens crossing the border with passports containing the insert. The streamlined exit procedure will continue until 10 August. We calculate that all people possessing inserts will be able to leave in the time remaining, including of course those who are now awaiting their turn actually at the border crossings and customs points on the Western border.

[PRAVDA] But will the technical means available to the customs service and the border troops allow this to be done in the time remaining?

[Kuznetsov] We stopped issuing inserts on 27 July. According to the 24 July figures, such inserts which entitle holders to enter certain neighboring countries once every 6 months, have been received by roughly 300,000 people. The almost 1 million fellow-citizens possessing a foreign passport should not be forgotten either. I think that with due efforts by border troops and customs officials, and I know that they are not wasting any time, everyone will be able to leave.

[PRAVDA] For how long will the "insert ban" be imposed?

[Kuznetsov] That depends on the USSR Council of Ministers. I would stress that visas and registration departments impose no restrictions at all on citizens leaving on foreign passports. True, we are unable to meet all the applications for these passports for the very banal

reason that the capacities of the State Bank Note Factory, which manufactures them, are unable to cope with our orders. [Kuznetsov ends]

Our next call was to L. Lozbenko, first deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers State Customs Control Main Administration.

[PRAVDA] What is the situation on the Western border today?

[Lozbenko] According to our latest information, there are virtually no lines to be found at customs border crossover points. The exception is Brest where there is a line stretching almost 1 kilometer. But I think that the situation will change very quickly—there will be a rush by tens of thousands of people to beat the 10 August deadline.

[PRAVDA] Will they be able to do this?

[Lozbenko] We are not erecting obstacles. However, I would stress that we will permit no relaxation of or deviation from the existing procedure for taking goods abroad. Those who are intending to make such commercial trips should not count upon taking advantage of the acute situation. It will not be easy, of course. But so much has already been written about the lifting of the "iron curtain" on the border, while reliable "bridges"—by which I mean exit and entry points—have not been established. Tens of thousands of people who wish to do so are unable to squeeze their way through the few narrow openings on the border. I would like to say that under an agreement with the Polish side, we are planning to open an extra three exit and entry points in September—at Grodno, Yagodina, and Rava-Russkaya. The pressure will probably subside then.

Officials Attend Railroad Workers' Day Meeting

PM0608140390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report: "Holiday Celebration"]

[Text] A meeting was held in Moscow 3 August to mark Railroad Workers' Day.

The working people in the sector greet their professional holiday in a difficult situation, said N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways, addressing the meeting. The imbalance in the country's national economy has also affected railroad workers' activity.

Railroad workers are faced with difficult tasks, the main one being to transport the new grain harvest, the minister observed. It is essential to unload freight cars quickly and make efficient use of them.

The following took part in the meeting: V.A. Tetenov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Transport, Communications, and Information Science Questions; A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central

Committee; and V.P. Shcherbakov, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions].

Suspected Cholera Cases 'Isolated' in Uzbekistan

PM0608105390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent A. Kaipbergenov under the rubric "Reporting Details": "Another Outbreak?"]

[Text] Tashkent—During a mandatory examination at the infectious diseases hospital in the town of Kattakurgan, Samarkand Oblast, the cholera bacillus was discovered in nine patients with acute intestinal disease—six of them children.

PRAVDA's correspondent contacted S. Vakhramov, Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] health minister, who is currently in Kattakurgan. Here is what he said:

"They are not showing any of the typical clinical symptoms of cholera. Their condition is satisfactory; however, taking account of the isolation of the cholera vibrio among them, the group has been isolated in a special building at the infectious diseases infirmary. They are under medical observation and are receiving full and appropriate medical care. The likeliest cause of the infection was a failure to observe hygiene and contact with open water tanks."

I would add to the above that the republic's newspapers yesterday published a decree by Uzbek SSR President I. Karimov on improving supplies of drinking water and natural gas to the Uzbek SSR's rural population. It envisages tripling the volume of water supply work. Some 1.7 million citizens will be supplied with drinking water from a pipe network in 1990-1992.

Syrian Workers Probable 'Source'

PM0608124790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 90 Morning Edition p2

[Report by L. Ivchenko: "Stavropol: Nidus Localized"]

[Text] A man came to call on his brother serving in one of Stavropol's troop units and... almost died: He caught cholera from the spring at the "Rodnik" ["Spring"] campsite. He was not the only one to drink this water either.... Newspapers, radio, and television have described the incident which threatened to become an epidemic—people visiting the seat of the infection have, after all, dispersed to dozens of regions all over the country!

How are events developing now, is there still a threat of a mass outbreak of this extremely dangerous disease? This is what A. Kondrusev, USSR deputy health minister and USSR chief state sanitary inspector, had to say:

[Kondrusev] The seat of the infection has now been localized thanks to the medical personnel's efforts. It is to the credit of Stavropol's medical personnel that they

rapidly grasped the situation and—this is the main point—took effective emergency action. It is, after all, only 10 days since the first alarm signal; more than 1,000 people have already been screened and steps have been taken to observe previous visitors to the campsite for which it was necessary to trace their movements and report the emergency in 64 of the country's population centers. This is very difficult—it is one thing to eliminate a constant source of infection and another when there are sufferers or carriers of the infection with their numerous contacts and when the main task is to flush them out and not let them slip through the net. An operational headquarters has been set up in Russia headed by E. Novitsyna, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] deputy minister, while Ye. Belyayev, RSFSR chief state sanitary inspector, is monitoring the steps taken in Stavropol. The epidemiological situation is still tense and medical personnel must be on the alert. For instance, three out of seven people in Perm who stayed at the campsite have been infected and have become carriers of the cholera vibrio. A previous visitor to the campsite who learned about the situation at "Rodnik" in the press turned to medical personnel in Moscow—not in vain, it transpired. Some 27 people have been screened in Mariupol where a group of 30 children went—they have, fortunately, escaped up to now....

This is the state of affairs as of 30 July: Some 114 people have been hospitalized in Stavropol, 49 of them suffering from the disease, including 14 children. The sufferers include 11 Syrian citizens who came here to work on construction. Several Syrians have proved to be vibrio carriers—they are outwardly healthy but are emitting the cholera vibrio and are therefore most dangerous. In the opinion of the Russian staff, they were also the source of the outbreak. The upper water-bearing strata of the soil was contaminated owing to nonhermetic sewer systems, and contaminated water gushed out of the spring.

The campsite is now an observation unit—something akin to a quarantine zone for its visitors. They are living normally here but will only be able to leave their enforced home after preventive treatment and with physicians' permission. Medical personnel are disinfecting the spring and the sewer systems and screening the reservoirs below the spring. Mega-vigilance is what is needed: After all a variety of the "Ogava" type "El Tor" cholera has been detected at the "Rodnik" campsite. The vibrio was given this name after the border point in Africa where it was discovered in a pilgrim early this century. This variety of cholera is more serious and, what is more, the vibrio is particularly hardy; it can exist for a long time in an external environment outside the human organism. Screening of the reservoirs has shown that they, fortunately, do not contain the vibrio. And Stavropol is carrying on its ordinary, ordered life.

Economic

Gorbachev Discusses Economy With Journalists

904A032A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 3 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Valeriy Badov, *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* editor for new management methods: "See, Understand, and Act"]

[Text] *We spent four and a half hours with the president in the Kremlin, and I returned to my office at the newspaper which is filled with galley proofs and manuscripts—without any guidelines.*

This line reflects best of all the condition of a society which is becoming accustomed to living according to the laws of the Soviet state where laws prevail over ideology. There are no longer any shepherds or "masses of people." And the "informal" meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and journalists, scholars, and commentators specializing in economic problems, I think, was also in the spirit of the times.

But still I would not be totally sincere if I were to say that I left entrance No. 19 of the building where our president works with the same set of thoughts I had when I entered. No, something happened; there was some deepening which I am now trying to interpret. Of course everything did not become as clear as day as to where the country is going—which is what the troubled and alarmed readers' letters on my desk are about—but it was as though there had been a change in my attitude toward values and focal points in my understanding of what is taking place. And discussion was about the radical reform of the national economy and the dangers that await the country and all of us during the transition from the allotment system to the market. At the very beginning of the discussion the president made it clear why he had called us there: "To consider together with you...." And this immediately set the open, free tone of the discussion. There was not a hint of the kind of restraint and tension I had always experienced in the offices of first secretaries, even in rural raykoms [rayon party committees].

No, it was clear from everything that Mikhail Gorbachev was more inclined to intellectual sparring with those who are known not to agree with him and whom he wants to convert to his faith rather than those who are ready to "pay attention" and accept his views and policy on faith.

"Reflect!" is what he called for the deputies of the 28th congress to do. His appeal was addressed both to allies and opponents. The latter enthusiastically pronounced their customary incantations, their heart and soul in times gone by when we believed in the rightness of everything that was done in our immense multilingual country—teaching from a kind of holy scripture of vulgar Marxism and not teaching from practice. Now we have come to the realization that we are a country with a thousand years of history of the people who have populated it and not a sect of true believers. We were late

in discovering that we had gotten off the narrow road of the world economy and become stuck in the mud of the cost-based "model"—such was our payment. Therefore of much more value than millions of tons of steel, billions of kilowatts, and trillions of horsepower...all this wealth we have piled up, and the entire heap of this dead wealth turned out to be in inverse proportion to our well-being. More valuable than all of this today is a little bit of thought, true political and economic thought that hits the nail on the head at this turning point in our destiny.

This is probably why the president did not say a word about "rates" and "kilowatts" but devoted a great deal of time to the market economy, social psychology, and politics itself as the art of the possible.

We discussed the deep contradictions in the transition to the market economy in countries with centralized economies. Alarming general patterns were revealed. When I was in Poland I was told that along with slogans for Solidarity and privatization there was also this one: "The commune return!" It was usually unskilled workers who were in favor of returning to wage leveling. Many people find equality in poverty is preferable to the temptations and dangers of competition and the freedom to work. The most restrained attitude toward market regulators is found in the working environment. Serious analysts are predicting that public opinion is capable of evolution: from the initial passiveness of the times of stagnation to enthusiasm and hopes generated by the promise of market reforms, and to a profound dissatisfaction as the market becomes more active and social stratification begins. These moods will undoubtedly be utilized by the powerful bureaucratic class which forms a pyramid of power over everyone who reaps and forges in order to turn them against the reforms and "inequality."

Was this not the case with us during with the NEP [New Economic Policy] during the twenties? Having been "fattened up" on the NEP grub and having brought the economy out of complete decline into a balanced condition through limited freedom of entrepreneurship in the city and the country, "military communism" returned to resume its former position. We are experiencing the pathetic result of the restraint of the "barter" utopia to this very day. But after all, even then in the twenties the driving out of the NEP and the violence against the peasant breadwinners was celebrated by those who were unhappy because the times were painted not red but a "rusty" color. And here again life made us face a choice: release of state property by the state, or rather changing its official status and the release of the creative and entrepreneurial potential of our people became a question of the fate of the country.

It was a hard choice: to drag along to the future with weights on our legs with the post-Stalinist model of the economy which, having squandered the labor of generations and dissipated our natural resources, today is incapable of simple reproduction, or to let individuals and collectives have their way in disposing of the means

and products of their own labor without fiscal constraints. Unless we create a Union-wide commodity market of free producers as the basis of the new Union treaty, it will be impossible to turn the current centrifugal processes in the USSR into centripetal ones. Centralism is powerless to resolve national hostilities and property disputes among republics. In a market economy it would be impossible to have a blockade of the railroads. Even during the medieval wars the trade routes were considered inviolable. But what happens to us when the "fighters" for the national ideal take over station buildings and light red semaphores on the tracks? The explanation for this senseless behavior is that none of them personally—as a legal individual—is either an owner, a supplier, or a purchaser of resources; none of them has a commitment to business partners or banks; and none of them has risked his own property in the "blockade." And all of them who are assigned to a Union-wide distributor are given an allowance by him even at the time when things are shut down, when they are loosening the bolts on the rails better than a plotter in Chekhov. They curse the center at the same time as they depend on it without question. Until these people become owners of at least some little bit of property and thus acquire social responsibility, they are capable of acting on the most nonsensical impulses and believing in chimeras. In my view the introduction of market relations, besides the fact that there is no alternative to them, is today a condition and a guarantee of the reconciliation of republics and nations.

The president read us a curious letter sent to him by a Moscow taxi driver who, upon investigation, turned out to be a doctor of philosophical sciences. He too is sounding the alarm everywhere because the times are painted not red but reddish. He says, "To the noise of platforms hastily knocked together they have shifted direction toward capitalism." This is not the first professional who has joined the working class in order to add "proletarian" incontrovertibility to his demagogic attacks on perestroika. Another low-level activist of the United Workers Front, who in the heat of the moment was almost elected general secretary of the Russian Communist Party, turned out as we now know to be a former sovkhoz [state farm] division manager. There is one common denominator: Taking advantage of the critical shortages on the consumer market, the dissatisfaction with the rising prices, and the utterly absurd "soap" and "tobacco" shortages to falsely accuse perestroika and incite the workers against the market reform and the entire system of new thinking as "apostasy." Were there many voices calling for a return to the old ways at the 28th congress? The president thinks that here we are encountering the immense inertia of the system that has developed over the decades. He said in effect that the "antimarket" attitudes are a kind of counterpoint to the reform in which everyone was fed up with the old, fruitless system; but the market too is something like a Khitrov market where the cunning and aggressive

succeed at the expense of the others and the honest worker might well end up the loser or not have any work at all.

"Protectors" from the United Workers Front beat this fantastic and superstitious idea of the market into the heads of impoverished pensioners with a 60-ruble pension. In my view, even the government unwittingly intimidated our people with the idea of the market. The premier spoke in the Supreme Soviet about the changeover to the market as not being some kind of long-awaited freedom for the worker to build with his own hands his own house and hearth—a full measure without economic constraints and wage leveling. In the context it meant something like our common passive readiness to endure, in regards to our forced changeover to a unknown rigid system of economy, because our old system which we defended up to the last day is not good for anything. And here was where the passions flared up since the government itself was calling for us to "suffer" and as a first step it suggested raising retail prices.

The president anticipates that when we enter the decisive time of market transformations even greater passions will flare up in the mass consciousness, and it would be a mistake to allow conservative and also pseudoradical forces to take advantage of this confusion and mental upheaval. I would focus on this especially. I do not know how others present at the meeting understood the president. Among them were people who are known from their articles in the press to be harsh and unequivocal critics of the government course and the actions of the president. These differences were manifested at the meeting. I am not asking for an end to this, the president said with disarming candor, meaning that he did not want to lessen the heat of the polemics surrounding the actions of the government of Nikolay Ryzhkov, but it would cause irreparable harm to the entire cause of perestroika if the left center which is gathering force were to try to split off.

How could one respond using common sense? Where is the trick here? Political struggle always centers around alliances and coalitions which are stronger the broader their base in society. And to directly "start a fight" among democrats is most inappropriate. Alas, during the days that have passed since the meeting with the president, certain comments in the press about the highways and byways of the market reform, signed by champions—whom I respect—of the rule-of-law state and de-Stalinization, and which contain apocalyptic prophesies and unambiguous calls to "overthrow" the government, form a volatile mixture. May God be their judge, but what more do they want: To overcome the forces of the past which really are not so insignificant, or to form a government consisting only of sages, radicals, and righteous people? As I see it, who personally heads the government does not seem critical. I am much more concerned about the content and the wisdom of the program for changing over to the market.

The economist Nikolay Shmelev made what I consider to be a sober and constructive suggestion: We still have a chance to create a synthetic program of reform which would incorporate all that is healthy and valuable in the ideas of people from the government and in alternative variants.

...Because of television we have an idea of the personality and the way of thinking of our president. Therefore, face-to-face communication added only a few more features, but they were interesting to me as a newspaperman. Mikhail Gorbachev gave the impression of a person who is confident of himself and who thinks intensely, who is aware of all the immense responsibility and power he has, and who knows how to use it without taking hasty steps. He is optimistic about the West's interest in the creation of a new economic model in the USSR.

His habit of thinking out loud, listening attentively to the thoughts of the person with whom he is speaking, and sometimes sharing his innermost thoughts, are not typical of just any political leader. Incidentally, he mentioned his innermost thoughts in just a few words and left the rest to our imagination. Etched in my memory is his idea that everything new in thinking, politics, and in interpretation of reality itself which will take part in the future initially appears as heresy on the philosophical plane and as a minority opinion on the political plane. But if this vision which is ahead of its time, as was the case with our new thinking, expresses the profound and indisputable demands of the time, then step by step it will take over the minds of more and more people and provide a guiding thread into times that are difficult for society.

I think we now have in our hands this guiding thread that will lead from darkness into light. It will not break if we do not become self-satisfied, if we are not compromised, and if we create a coalition of all democratic forces for perestroika.

State, All-Union Unemployment Programs Viewed
904F021A Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by TRUD political commentator V. Golovachev: "If I Become Unemployed"]

[Text] A menacing specter of unemployment is haunting our country which for decades denounced this "shameful scourge of capitalism" and prided itself on victories in the social sphere. We said: Yes, we do not live too well, but all of us have confidence in the future because we have jobs, we have free education and health care, and almost free housing.... Suddenly, it came out that we apparently have social accomplishments but do not have life worthy of man because we cannot call life the miserable, wretched existence that tens of millions of people eke out in our country.

This goes to confirm the obvious fact that we are already in an economic dead end and there is almost nothing to

be divided up "equally among all," as we are used to doing and as was the case before. At present only half a step separates us from an economic collapse, and the issue of the future of our country is as acute as it was before the introduction of the New Economic Policy in the 1920's. There is just no other choice: either a transition to market relations or complete disintegration.

However, our consciousness resists the market: The people are afraid that it will get even worse. A serious concern is associated with the fear of being left without a job. The following thesis is set forth in order to somehow reassure public opinion: In general, there should not be unemployment and "surplus people"; this is very extreme because at issue is mere regrouping and the redistribution of labor. This approach conceals serious dangers like a delayed-action mine. First, they are trying to lull our consciousness with illusions; however, this is fraught with powerful social explosions in the not-so-distant future when our harsh reality proves them wrong. Second, they want to blunt our vigilance in the course of evaluating the programs of social protection—benefits will supposedly be paid only under very extreme circumstances; their significance is not that great because there should not be protracted and massive unemployment in our country.

Is this so? Our readers are entitled to know the truth. This is why I would like to familiarize them with some predictions which were made in the course of developing the state concept of transition to regulated market relations.

The following evaluation of the possible socioeconomic consequences of the initial stage is given in one of the variants of the concept, the April variant: "Production will drop. This reduction is estimated to be between 15 and 20 percent in industry, primarily in the Group A industries, as well as in construction. However, in the course of this the manufacturing of products which are not in demand will be reduced and material resources will be freed up. The closure of enterprises due to the poor efficiency of their operation and reduced production will cause labor to be released, primarily unskilled workers and a segment of engineers and managers."

More detailed calculations may be found in another document prepared by the government in May. On page 68, a "shock" and a more moderate version of transition to the market are compared. In the first case as many as 15 to 18 million people are predicted to be released as soon as next year in the sphere of material production, and according to the second variant between 5 and 10 million people. As we can see, at issue in both variants is the fact that millions of people will lose their jobs very soon rather than at some remote point in the future. To be sure, employment in the nonproductive sphere should increase. Still, judging by this document, the overall number of those employed in the national economy will drop by 4 to 7 million people next year in the process of transition to the market, according to the most conservative estimates.

I have no reason to question these calculations done by highly skilled professionals. If we add to this the unemployment which already exists—variously estimated to be between 2 and 5 million people—it will turn out that a tremendous army of between 6 and 11 million people will be left out even in the moderate variant.

However I am not quoting these numbers, both alarming and impressive, in order to give one more trump card to conservatives in their unceasing attempts to set the people against the market. Indeed, switching to the market will save our economy. However the truth should be known, primarily in order to create in the process of switching to the market a system of social protection which would reduce to a minimum the unavoidable costs of the forthcoming transition. This is to say that we need to proceed toward the market being aware of all dangers and prepared to overcome them rather than being blindfolded. The differing approaches of the trade unions on the one hand, and of the government on the other, to this most acute social problem became clearly apparent in this instance in developing social-protection measures. Positions, views, and approaches clashed. Passions were clearly inflamed.

Let us compare two drafts of the Foundations of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Employment of the Populace—the government draft submitted by the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], and an alternative draft developed by the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]. Let us all evaluate this situation with regard to ourselves: "If I become unemployed tomorrow...."

The Goskomtrud draft clearly shows the desire to limit as much as possible aid to people who have lost their jobs and who are in trouble through no fault of their own. Let us look, for example, at the volume of benefits. What does the USSR Goskomtrud suggest? To grant benefits equal to the minimum wage in our country—at present this is 70 rubles [R]. For example, an unprofitable drilling rig is closed down. Having lost his job, a driller who used to earn R600 will have to switch to existing in a semistarvation mode together with his family by cutting his budget to R70. Why is he being punished in this manner by the state to which he gave one half of his labor free—this is what the norm of unpaid labor is in our country—for a long time? Will such procedures be fair?

The alternative draft of the trade unions proposes something completely different: to grant benefits amounting to one half of the average wage at the last place of employment, not higher than the average wage in the Union republic in question. The same driller would receive R280 rather than R70 in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. There is a difference, isn't there? It is interesting that even the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] takes the same position as the trade unions, whereas the Goskomtrud—which in principle should advocate primarily the interests of the working people—actually strives for something completely different. Is this not strange? However,

why should it be: The departments have always been quite isolated from the people....

However, let us move on. The Goskomtrud graciously grants benefits amounting to one half of the minimum wage—R35 rubles at present—to those who are looking for work for the first time and are having difficulty finding it. I would like to see the employees of the USSR Goskomtrud themselves get by on this kind of budget!

The alternative AUCCTU draft also proposes an amount which is not really large (frankly, this appears incompressible to me), but still bigger than the one in the main draft law: 75 percent of the minimum wage—R52.50.

It seems to me that the foremost concern of the authors of the main draft was not to pamper the people—God forbid, not to have the benefits lure them to a carefree and happy existence in which you supposedly get money "just like that" and there is no need to work. In the May variant of the government concept this is what was written in black and white: "...It is important not to overdevelop the functions of social protection to the point that new motivation for a parasitic attitude may appear." Really, comrades, are you serious about this? Under our circumstances? Given our wretched benefit handouts? Given that even now half the country barely makes ends meet and lives from one payday to the next? One has to dislike his own people very much in order to treat them in this officially indifferent manner....

In the May variant the authors of the government concept went beyond general statements about the parasitic attitude. The following procedure was proposed in order to defend our people from this horrible threat, against striving for parasitic existence at the expense of benefits: If you lose your job you are obligated to take part in public-works projects, building roads and carrying stones. Why? Why such a punishment for those who were deprived of their jobs? Why should, say, an elderly bookkeeper strain himself carrying stones or wash toilets instead of doing work that is suitable for him?

The trade unions criticized this sharply. The new government concept appears not to have the requirement of mandatory participation in public-works projects; however, wages received for such work are considered to be a kind of compensation received after the loss of principal employment. So such people will not receive benefits. As I see it, this is unfair...

Indeed, a humane approach is alien to the authors of the Goskomtrud draft. On the one hand, it proclaims the principle of the voluntary nature of labor while on the other immediately puts an administrative stranglehold on this right. Article 5 says: "The failure of able-bodied citizens of the USSR to be employed is allowed provided they have sources of income envisaged in the law which are declared through the established procedures." Whose business is it what kind of money I support myself with? Stop peeking through the keyhole at last! If you catch a swindler put him behind bars, but suspecting all...

Incidentally, the point on declaring income with a view to proving that you are not a parasite obviously contradicts the principle of free choice of employment which is based on the exclusive right of the working people to dispose of their own ability to work. This right is also codified in the Law on Property in the USSR.... Both the trade unions and international experts pointed out the obvious contradictions in Article 5.

There is a serious difference between the drafts of the Goskomtrud and the AUCCTU on the issue of the duration of unemployment benefits. The Goskomtrud proposes to pay for a 12-month period in half a year (this does not apply only to people in the age group nearing retirement). The AUCCTU position is to pay for a year rather than half a year. In the opinion of the Goskomtrud, those who are near retirement may be paid benefits for 36 weeks, and the AUCCTU believes that it should be 104 weeks. The difference between their approaches is clearly visible and comments are hardly in order....

Many such comparisons may be made, however I will refer to just one more issue. Who is to be considered unemployed? The Goskomtrud draft considers only those unemployed who have no earnings or another legal source of income for reasons beyond their control. Fine, but what if a person loses his job who, for example, has shares or has received an inheritance? It turns out that any income, regardless of size, should be grounds for refusing to register a person as being unemployed. Consequently he will not collect benefits. I think that it is clear even to nonspecialists: The essence of this provision is antisocial. Of course, this absurd thesis is not found in the alternative draft prepared by the AUCCTU.

A trade union delegation headed by the leading economist of the AUCCTU, N.D. Podshibyakina, went to the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva as early as May in order to submit the alternative draft for an expert review. The conclusion of the international experts was: "On the whole it may be considered that the provisions of the draft Foundations of the Law prepared by the AUCCTU comply with the provisions of International Convention No. 122 on policy in the field of employment." It would appear that everything is clear. Nonetheless, the trade unions continue to be accused of not wanting to compromise, delaying the submission of the draft law to the Supreme Soviet due to their obstinacy, and thus virtually condemning millions of people to lack of social protection. Is it so? I believe that the above comparison of the two drafts makes it possible to respond to this question objectively. In essence, a compromise in this case would mean betraying the interests of the working people.

It is absolutely clear that the AUCCTU proposals ensure the social protection of the Soviet people to a much greater degree. The trade unions are arguing in favor of exactly the fundamental interests of the popular masses rather than some aspirations of their own. In the future any one of us—a worker, a specialist, a journalist—may

lose his job. It is very important for this not to become the collapse of the lives of millions of people. Incidentally, Goskomtrud employees should not consider themselves immune to unemployment—who knows....

Instead of a fruitful debate on the merits of the issue, the opponents strive to present the trade unions as an obstacle to progress. Really, this is not the best way, nor is it the most promising one.

Agricultural

Grain Procurement 'Appreciably Lower' Than 1989

PM0608121390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

2 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by K. Lysenko: "An Impressive Grain Harvest Has Ripened"]

[Text] I would like to single out a joyful report from the flood of reports about the progress of harvesting work. To date the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] grain growers have already managed to fulfill the state order. Crop farmers in the Kalmyk ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] have exceeded their obligations for grain sales to the state by a factor of 2.8. Grain growers in Stavropol Kray and Rostov Oblast have also fulfilled the state order and are producing above-plan grain.

This information is a source of joy not only for the traditional reason. It graphically illustrates that even now, despite all objective and subjective difficulties, where there is the will people can work steadily with minimum loss of time and harvest yield.

Grain growers in Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Dnepropetrovsk, Nikolayev, and Dzhambul Oblasts are close to fulfilling the state order.

However, reports of a different nature predominate. Moldova has fulfilled its obligations to the state only 33 percent, while this figure is only five percent in Kazakhstan—the southern oblasts are delaying with sales of grain. Of course, the harvest begins at different times in different regions and the rates of state order fulfillment cannot be measured by a single yardstick. Nonetheless, according to specialists' calculations, these rates could be far higher in Saratov and Volgograd Oblasts, and for the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukraine as a whole.

The general situation is like this. Although the country's harvest of grain crops is considerably bigger than last year's, the rates of grain procurement are appreciably lower. Thus, by 30 July grain procurement was 8 million tonnes less than by the same date last year.

A paradoxical situation has taken shape. Tens of millions of tonnes of grain are lying in the fields in the open air. Farms are glad to sell it to the state which is willing to procure this grain. Even in Stavropol Kray there are

still spare grain storage capacities for 1.5 million tonnes now. In Krasnodar Kray capacities for 2 million tonnes of grain are still "vacant."

What is preventing the buyer and the seller from finding one another? A disturbing trend is manifesting itself with growing frequency: Local organs are endeavoring to keep grain at their disposal. A recent RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution envisages material responsibility for actions of this kind on Russian territory. Organs impeding the sale of produce are to provide farms with compensation for losses incurred as a result of their ill-conceived decisions. However, the problem resides in the fact that the ban is frequently not documented and is virtually indemonstrable. Only "telephone law" operates without hitches.

This fact is to blame for the tremendous difficulties with gasoline, equipment, spare parts, and manpower. At the moment a considerable number of grain reception points are only working 12-14 hours a day. Vehicles transport grain until 2000 hours, the result being that huge "bottlenecks" form at the elevators early in the morning.

It is therefore probably worth recalling the sad statistics, whereby one day's grain storage *al fresco* represents one percent of the harvest lost. Is that not too high a price to pay for mismanagement?

Harvest Hampered by Spare Parts, Fuel Shortage

PM0608142190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by K. Lysenko under the "Harvest Time" rubric: "Chance To Feed Ourselves"]

[Text] Hardly anyone could have been left indifferent by recent reports. An unprecedented grain harvest—300 million tonnes—has ripened in the country's fields. Even if 30-40 million tonnes is lost as usual, we can still procure more grain than we have previously had—American grain included! That is feasible. But it is equally feasible that a far more substantial proportion of the harvest may fall by the wayside. This was discussed at a USSR Council of Ministers Presidium sitting 2 August.

This has also been mentioned on previous occasions. A month ago it became clear once and for all that the countryside was on starvation rations on the eve of the harvest. Nominal gasoline stocks were not actually available. Agriculture failed to receive some 2,800 grain combines during the first six months along with hundreds of reapers for "Don-1500" combines. The machines were standing idle due to lack of spare parts, tires, and accumulators. PRAVDA has described the prevailing situation on several occasions.

After assessing the critical situation, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a month ago a special resolution instructing the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Heavy

and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], and other departments to make good before 15 July their shortfalls of deliveries of equipment, spare parts, petroleum products, and other material resources to the countryside. It particularly pointed out that the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building must make good by 1 August the shortfall of spare working units for grain combines.

All these dates have now passed. What do we have? Here, for instance, is the latest report. A TASS correspondent reports from Vladikavkaz that grain growers in Northern Ossetia are experiencing an acute shortage of accumulators, tires for combines and motor vehicles, and other spare parts. There is trouble with fuel and lubricants. Agriculture in the country as a whole has failed to receive 17,000 trucks and 2,800 grain combines—the same amount as a month ago. Peasants have simply failed to receive 2,400 reapers, 11,000 accumulators, and 113,000 tires. It is as if the USSR Council of Ministers had not passed the resolution which should have largely been fulfilled by now!

The question of fuel is a special one. During the first six months, agriculture suffered a shortfall of 176,000 tonnes of gasoline and 462,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. The USSR Council of Ministers resolution obliged the USSR Gossnab and the Union republic councils of ministers to organize priority distribution for the needs of agriculture of as much fuel as was needed to ensure the normal performance of harvesting and other work. A large quantity of petroleum products was allocated from USSR Council of Ministers reserves. Union republic governments and the USSR Gossnab were given responsibility for selling the allocation strictly as specified. Well then? In the first 22 days of July alone, the country's agro-industrial complex failed to receive 130,000 tonnes of gasoline and 524,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. As a result grain harvesting over tens of millions of hectares is now in question.

How could this have happened? After all, fuel stocks have been allocated! It is a case of one of two explanations: Either the USSR Council of Ministers distributed gasoline and lubricants that only existed on paper, or the fuel has gone to other recipients.

The situation has obviously gotten out of central organs' control. Fresh decisions are being adopted but can we be confident that the same fate does not await them? It has been decided to direct up to 15 percent of departmental motorized transport and drivers into rescuing the harvest, but who is to guarantee that departments will comply this time?

Who is to blame? We will answer this question later. Now it is vitally important to understand what has to be done. We must all pitch in to rescue the harvest because there is no one for us to rely on. Nowadays PRAVDA readers are calling the editorial office; one said: I have

put my "little Zhiguli" "off the road" for the harvest period so as not to waste gasoline. I do not know whether many people will follow his example or whether this will produce a tangible effect. But the desire to make just some contribution to the common cause deserves the warmest support. It is a good thing if this desire is shared by the workers and leaders of those plants that manufacture agricultural equipment and fuel, by the drivers who have to bring in the harvest, and by the students who are still refusing to take part in agricultural work.

We will not forgive ourselves if we lose the grain that we have now and miss the chance that nature has bestowed on us.

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Undertake Joint Work in Space

'Mir' Activities Reported

LD0608122290 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT
6 Aug 90

[TASS correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Center]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—The combined crew of Anatoliy Solovyev, Aleksandr Balandin, Gennadiy Manakov, and Gennadiy Strekalov continue their work in orbit.

The orbital station's long-term occupants have been transferring the management of the complex to the new team today. They also plan to conduct scientific research and arrange a live television broadcast from orbit.

The cosmonauts continue the vita experiment under the program of work in space bio-engineering which was begun on August 3. They are taking samples of biopreparations obtained in zero-gravity conditions for subsequent laboratory research.

Using equipment installed on the complex's exterior side, the cosmonauts are performing experiments to measure the flow of micro-meteorites in near-earth orbit and evaluate how the conditions of open space influence the physico-mechanical characteristics of various materials.

The flight is proceeding normally. The cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

Cosmonauts' Activities Detailed

LD0608195490 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT
6 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Two Soviet space crews have been working in orbit for the fourth day. Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin, who spent almost six

months in orbit, are turning over their duties to the crew of the seventh main expedition, Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov.

The four cosmonauts will work together until August 9. Then Solovev and Balandin are expected to return to earth at 11.35 Moscow time. They have carried out an extensive program of physical, technological, astrophysical, natural studies and medico-biological research, and experiments for the benefit of various branches of the national economy. They had two space walks.

The crews set about a regular melt on the Zona-03 installation under the program of the study of materials in space. High-purity semi-conductors with improved characteristics are expected to be obtained as a result of this experiment for the radio-electronic industry.

Today the cosmonauts televised a reportage from orbit to the Mission Control Center. All those present were gratified by the excellent crop and size of garden radish grown in the "space conservatory" in zero gravity or, to be more exact, on the Svet installation co-designed by Soviet and Bulgarian specialists. Lettuce is also ripe.

These vegetables are expected to be used for research purposes so far, but time is not far off when cosmonauts would be able to taste fresh vegetables grown in space, a spokesman at the Mission Control Center told TASS.

Cosmonauts To Return 9 Aug

LD0708044190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0200 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Text] The joint flight of the two crews on the Mir orbital complex is continuing its fifth day. The day after tomorrow Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin should return to earth. Therefore one of the main tasks of the crew at the present time is to prepare well and comprehensively for this extremely crucial operation.

And for the two Gennadiy Mikhayloviches, Manakov and Strelakov—their call sign is Vulkany [Volcanoes]—the main thing now is to come to grips with the complicated management of the station. Each crew is receiving cargo ships. Each crew is putting the equipment in one place or another. Taking into account the present volume of the complex—just imagine it, there are more than 80 tonnes now in orbit—they cannot get away without making a similar inventory, or to put it simply, without having an interval between the two shifts.

Tomorrow we will talk to all four cosmonauts and, as soon as we do that, you will learn what is happening there.

Future of Manned Space Flight Program Viewed

LD0608223290 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 1900 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Excerpts] A new two-man crew on Friday boarded the Mir space station, joining the crew who have been

working there for half a year. But although the latest launch [words indistinct] went off practically without a hitch, they appear to have added fuel to the controversy in the Soviet Union over the future of the manned space program, and this is now explained in "Vantage Point" by Boris Belitskiy

[Belitskiy] [passage omitted] The second part of the crew rotation operation is scheduled for this coming Thursday when the crew they are replacing is due to return to earth. Their return will be watched with some anxiety. [passage omitted]

But despite unquestionable achievements of the Soviet manned space flight program, the latest operations have tended to reactivate criticism of it, particularly from the standpoint of its cost effectiveness—certainly a factor of great importance in these times of acute economic difficulties. Thanks to the policy of glasnost or openness, it's now known that the manned space program will this year cost 220 million rubles [R]. It's also known that the Buran space shuttle, whose testing has still not been completed, cost R14 billion. Figures such as these are leading many critics to question the need for a manned space program for the present. The critics point to the much smaller cost of unmanned satellites. A communications satellite, for example, costs only about R10 million, and the investment quickly pays off.

As a result of such criticism, various alternatives are now being suggested to the present manned space program. For example, instead of the expensive Mir II orbital station planned for the mid-90s, a group of space designers have come up with a different project. This is a 100-tonne orbital factory which would produce a tonne of extremely valuable products a year. The factory would cooperate in the automatic mode and would require only two visits a year by cosmonauts for recharging its furnaces, removing finished products and routine maintenance. The cost of the project is estimated at R1.2 billion; the cost of the annual product at R3-8 billion.

On the other hand there are those who argue that manned space exploration is one of the few areas of science and technology in which the Soviet Union unquestionable leads the world. This leading role, they claim, will soon begin to pay off in financial terms too. [passage omitted] It remains to be seen which way the present debate tips the scales of the future of the Soviet manned space program.

***Cosmos-2089* Satellite Launched 3 Aug**

LD0408092790 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT
4 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—The Soviet Union launched an earth satellite, Cosmos-2089, using the Soyuz booster rocket, on Friday.

The satellite carries scientific equipment for space research.

Apart from scientific equipment, the satellite carries a radio system for taking precise measurements of elements of the orbit and a radio telemetric system for transmitting data on the performance of instruments and scientific equipment back to earth.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Orbit Information Reported

PM0608183990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Cosmos-2089"]

[Text] A Soyuz carrier rocket launched the latest artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-2089, 3 August 1990 in the Soviet Union.

Scientific apparatus installed on board the satellite is designed for continuing the exploration of space.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

initial period of revolution—89.6 minutes;
maximum distance from earth (apogee)—342 km;
minimum distance from earth (perigee)—196km;
inclination of orbit—62 degrees.

In addition to scientific apparatus the satellite carries the following: a radio system for the precise measurement of elements of the orbit, and a radiotelemetric system to transmit to earth data on the working of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The onboard apparatus is functioning normally.

The coordination and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Military

Moiseyev Interviewed on Army Depoliticization

90UM0797A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General N. Moiseyev, CPSU Central Committee member, member of the Military Council and chief of the Ground Forces Political Administration, by the editors of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA; place and date not given: "A Renewed Political Organ—What Is It To Be?"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Nikolay Andreyevich, you have just come back from the Turkestan Military District where you met with communists who nominated you delegate to the 28th congress. How has the congress itself and its decisions been received?

[Moiseyev] An overwhelming majority of those whom I happened to communicate with view it as the most prominent political event of recent time and believe that its decisions are of critical significance for the party and our entire society.

In numerous conversations, officers and warrant officers expressed their satisfaction with the fact that the issues of military organizational development became so prominent in the work of the forum of communists. The adoption of the resolution on "On Main Avenues in the Military Policy of the Party at the Current Stage" evoked an extensive response on the part of the troops. The servicemen were profoundly satisfied with the high evaluation of the significance of their labor given in the resolution.

However, in the course of my meetings with officers, warrant officers, and soldiers I came to feel keenly their concern about whether the thesis stated in the document on paying greater attention to the issues of military organizational development and increasing the social and legal protection of servicemen will be actually implemented or remain a mere declaration as has happened in the past many times.

Many people associate measures of a creative nature with implementing military reform. We should say straightforwardly that the servicemen who understand how serious the forthcoming transformations are, and how necessary it is to analyze profoundly the steps taken, believe that the development of the reform proceeds slowly. Such attitudes are particularly characteristic of young officers.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] A lively discussion took place at the congress with regard to the issues of depoliticization and on party organizations in the Armed Forces. Nonetheless, an unequivocal decision was made. How was it received by the troops?

[Moiseyev] We have data concerning the sentiment of the servicemen with regard to this issue before and after the congress. I must say straightforwardly that the depth of the discussion and the balanced position of communist-delegates affected this sentiment. At present, many people understand that talk of the depoliticization and de-partization of the Armed Forces is nothing but an attempt on the part of destructive forces to exclude servicemen from the political life of our country at the most crucial stage of its development, and perhaps to use the Armed Forces in their own interests.

In any society, the army is an instrument of state power and a vehicle for state policy; therefore the very term "depoliticization" is out of place in this particular instance.

At the same time, people understand that the new situation that has evolved in our society calls for renewing political work in the Army and revising the functions and structures of political organs. I am not going to conceal that one encounters opinions, few to be sure, on the "lack of need" for political organs and party organizations in the Armed Forces in general.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Nikolay Andreyevich, you have gone step by step from the political department of a division to the Political Administration of the Armed

Forces service with the greatest personnel strength. In your opinion, what needs to be changed in the operation of the political organs first of all? What is your vision of renewed political organs?

[Moiseyev] Political aspects of the military reform, transformations in the sphere of operations of the political organs, and party and ideological work in the Army were covered in sufficient detail in the congress speech by Colonel General N. Shlyaga, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, and by other delegates. They stated unequivocally that the Army cannot be outside politics. As far as party work in the Armed Forces is concerned, it was stated that it is expedient to carry it out through party committees and primary party organizations in the future as well. It was proposed to form a structure on an elective basis, from the regimental party committee to the All-Army Party Committee.

As far as revision of the functions and structure of the political organs is concerned, we should to my mind take into account the fact that this is a new endeavor brought to life by perestroyka. Haste is impermissible in this matter. After all, mistakes may affect the standard of the defense capability of our country in a pernicious way.

I think that educational and ideological activities, concern with the social protection of servicemen and members of their families, and examination and development of a healthy moral and ethical atmosphere in the collectives of soldiers should constitute the backbone of the work of political organs.

However, it is necessary to take care to create an appropriate structure of political organs in order for them to be able to accomplish such tasks successfully. This is when the issue of training highly skilled cadres arises. They should be professionals with the highest degree of training who have mastered new thinking and eliminated the stereotypes of paper pushing and administrative leadership. In all honesty, some of us still have these flaws.

This is how I would put it: It is necessary to restructure the entire system of cadre training. The number of specialists in the area of psychology, sociology, and data and systems analysis should be increased sharply. Several years ago, the training of specialists in some of these fields was initiated in the Higher Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin. However, such specialists are very few. On the average one psychologist a year is assigned to a military district. For the most part, sociologists "get anchored" in central administrations. Meanwhile such specialists are necessary in every primary political organ. They are also needed in military commissariats.

Apparently, the training curriculum in our military-political institutions needs to be revised, and very seriously at that. For a long time now we have been training, so to say, nonspecialized political officers. Perestroyka has called for propaganda specialists and psychologists,

sociologists, and specialists who are highly knowledgeable about the law and engage in work on the social protection of servicemen. We do not need just lawyers, as we train at present, but lawyer-educators capable of predicting the condition of military discipline in the subunits on the basis of analyzing legal work and working out recommendations for reinforcing it.

There is one point we cannot afford to forget in transforming the political organs; we cannot forget about people. I mean political officers themselves. We cannot allow people to be left out as a result of changes.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The issue of privileges and the isolation of the nomenklatura from the masses was raised quite sternly at the congress. Similar voices are heard in the community of servicemen. Some mass media intensively plant in the minds of their readers the idea of the alienation of generals from officers, officers from soldiers, and of the clannishness of the military. What can you say about this?

[Moiseyev] These rumors are promoted by those who would like to isolate the Army from the people and to sow mistrust of the Armed Forces.

What kind of clannishness can there be if a majority of the officers and generals of our Army come from the very midst of the popular masses. What kind of isolation can there be if time itself compels us to go to the masses? I would like to give examples in order to substantiate this. Major General I. Mikulin was appointed member of the Military Council-chief of the Political Administration of the Southern Group of Forces at the most crucial moment during the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Hungary which had begun. Ivan Ivanovich read very precisely the sentiment of a segment of the officers of the group. Many of them have no apartments on the territory of the USSR; they are concerned about the forthcoming job placement of their wives and prospects for their service. Under the circumstances there was only one choice—to go to the people, explain to them how complicated the situation is, and review all appeals and complaints attentively. There were dozens of meetings a day. The people understood that the chief of the Political Administration had their concerns at heart. I believe that the following words about him spoken during his nomination as delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress were the supreme evaluation of his activities: "Due to your warm and heartfelt attitude we, the officers and warrant officers of the group of forces, have become convinced that the political organs are necessary." Major General A. Protsenko, who heads a political organ based on the territory of Kazakhstan, enjoys equally great authority. His authority is equally great among the servicemen and the Russian-speaking and indigenous population of the republic. There are many similar examples.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Nikolay Andreyevich, could you tell us briefly about yourself....

[Moiseyev] I come from a family of Tambov peasants. My father died in action when I was seven years old. As I remember, we did not always have a slice of bread on our table....

NOVOSTI Views Changes in Armed Forces

AU0608124490 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ
RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 1 Aug 90 p 2

["Exclusive" NOVOSTI article by Igo Volozhanin for ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ: "Two Aspects of the Same Problem"]

[Text] The resolution "On the Basic Paths of Party Military Policy at the Current Stage," adopted at the 28th CPSU Congress, has in effect dispelled the idea of depoliticizing, de-partying, and de-ideologizing the Soviet Army. However, it has confirmed the need to carry out a military reform.

The resolution calls for a transformation of the system of party and political work in the USSR Armed Forces, including the separation of party organizations from state administrative and military-political organizations, which will deal with soldiers' moral-political education in future. Time will tell whether such a compromise solution will succeed. At the congress, military delegates presented the draft thereof.

Until quite recently, the idea of depoliticizing the Army was little known and viewed with suspicion; now it is gaining more supporters. For example, RSFSR people's deputies have clearly spoken out against the involvement of any party whatsoever in the life of the Army, peace-keeping forces, and KGB, and have called for greater state and civic control over the activity of parties. Striking miners have recently put forth similar demands in the sphere of mining. One party organization conducted a survey which was recently printed in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. Over 84 percent of its members, people in uniform and civilian employees in the Army, said that the Army should be depoliticized. But those who disagree say that this figure does not fully represent the views of the more than 1 million CPSU members in the Armed Forces.

Why are various social movements in the Soviet Union so interested in the issue? First, because many citizens think that it is unsafe for the Armed Forces to become depoliticized when state democratic institutions are still weak and with increasing differences in views between various social forces. Soviet society was particularly alarmed by the deployment of the Army in order to keep the peace in USSR trouble spots and by the open criticism of perestroika by some higher-ranking military personnel. All this led to rumors about some plot taking shape in the Armed Forces which military men themselves rejected as "completely unfounded."

Those in favor of depoliticizing the Army frequently refer to the experience of East European countries where this process is already taking place. They think this is a

logical part of the Soviet policy of reform and construction of a democratic law-governed country, especially because new political parties are rapidly emerging in the USSR. The new parties are energetically calling for equal rights with the CPSU at the very least. Objectively speaking, this might cause new problems in the Army which, as the senior military men taking part in the CPSU congress admitted, "reflects the entire spectrum of society's views."

At the same time, regardless of the rapidly increasing attraction of the idea of depoliticizing the Army, supporters of radical reforms to the political and party system are warning against a too-rapid implementation of such a reform. Colonel General D. Volkogonov, a well-known military scientist and a member of the Russian parliament, believes the country will have to endure a very difficult stage in which party bodies will transfer their power functions to state bodies. Indeed, for 70 years the party was a supreme body which made direct decisions about Soviet military construction. Until quite recently, in accordance with years of tradition, the CPSU general secretary was also head of the Defense Council.

There is no doubt that the relationships between the party and Army have to be regulated in order to transform the command system as quickly as possible and simplify the system of controlling military affairs. But this is not easy as some radicals indicate. L. Zaykov, in charge of military-technical matters inside the party apparatus for many years, has said that "under the new conditions the fulcrum of decisionmaking should shift toward the president and Supreme Soviet." But is the Supreme Soviet ready for that? Some USSR people's deputies have a negative view of the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Defense and State Security. They believe this community is not displaying any independence and determination in defense of the proposals to radically reform the military-industrial complex because the committee is mainly composed of representatives of this complex. There is no doubt that the establishment of an effective state and social control over defense policy will require much time and effort.

Another question comes to the fore at this point: How long will party organizations be able to act inside the Armed Forces? One cannot forget that stripping communists inside the Army of their party membership might anger some officers who might view this as a deprivation of their civic rights. But is that really a strong argument against the very idea of depoliticizing the Army? Will the present CPSU monopoly inside the Army discourage an influx of young people eager to make a career in the Army but representing different political views or even

holding no views whatsoever? Is it in the Army's interests to introduce to the barracks all the political problems that are inevitable in a multiparty system? There are more questions than answers.

In any case, the problem of depoliticizing the Army might be solved more easily if constructive dialogue and cooperation between the CPSU, the Soviets, the Armed Forces, and all social organizations are established. Basically, the 28th CPSU Congress spoke out in favor of such cooperation and that arouses optimism. As CPSU general secretary, M. Gorbachev cannot turn his back on thousands of Army employees. It would be tactless to ask him to do so. However, much depends on whether the opponents of depoliticization will wish to look Gorbachev in the eye. Will he agree that in a pluralistic democratic society it is better to have a military organization subordinated only to the constitution and legitimate government than an Army infested with old political disputes that have nothing in common with its tasks and functions?

Polozkov, Others at Airborne Forces Celebration

*PM0608151790 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Aug 90 First Edition p 1*

[Report by unidentified KRSNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] Moscow—A ceremonial meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of the Airborne Assault Forces took place 1 August in the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House. I. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee; O. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; B. Belousov, USSR minister of the defense industry; Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; representatives of soviet and party organs, working people, young people, and Moscow Garrison troops; and general designers of aviation and paratroop equipment took part in the meeting.

The meeting was opened by Lieutenant General V. Polevik, chief of the Airborne Assault Forces Political Directorate. Colonel General V. Achalov, commander of the Airborne Assault Forces, delivered a report.

Army General M. Moiseyev read out a greetings message to the assault forces on behalf of Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR Defense Minister, and Colonel General N. Shlyaga, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Baltic Republics

Baltic Leaders Comment on Tallian Meeting

*LD0608230190 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2051 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Report from Tallinn by correspondent Vladimir Velman over video of meeting of Baltic and other republican and regional leaders from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A meeting of the heads of government of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and also of representatives of the governments of Belorussia, Moldavia, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], Moscow, Leningrad, and Leningrad Oblast took place in Tallinn yesterday. A number of documents were adopted at the meeting and the participants in this meeting agreed to meet in Tallinn once again in September and all representatives of other republics of the USSR who would like to come will be invited to it.

I will end this reportage with two brief interviews with the participants in yesterday's meeting.

[Begin recording] [Prunskiene, prime minister of Lithuania] [video switches to exterior interview with Prunskiene] All now are interested in us having a good beginning for the new character of mutual relations and I welcome and approve very much the fact that the government of Estonia has decided precisely today and in very good time to organize such an event where we prime ministers of the former Union of republics are beginning already now and independently a dialogue on how we should be in the future, on how we can cooperate directly.

[Ivars Godmanis, prime minister of Latvia] [video switches to interview with Godmanis inside building] I think that in the first place, this is a very important meeting here. The question is very important in that, as I said when I spoke here, here we are in the process of being at a crossroads, a transitional period. Centralized economic bodies are already beginning to give up their positions, yes? But we must very quickly create horizontal links. Moreover, as I have said, in the most urgent positions, that is, energy and fuel resources and food produce. That is very important. That is the primary concern of the government. [end recording]

[Velman] [Video switches to shots of Estonian Supreme Soviet at work] The extraordinary 13th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic began in Tallinn today. It was not by chance that the session was timed to coincide with that date for it was on 6 August in 1940 that Estonia joined the USSR. Today, there are few in the republic who doubt that that was not a voluntary joining. After all, the Baltic states were the victims of the Stalinist-Hitlerite pact with all the consequences ensuing from that. The historical memory of the people demands the restoration of the independence which was trampled underfoot for 50 years. However, over these

years, both the economic and the political mutual links have changed. The painfulness of the process which the peoples of this region are going through now was brought about by this.

The question of relations between the Estonian Republic and the USSR, based upon the joint statement of the Council of Baltic States which took place at the end of last month in Yurmala was the first question at today's session.

Problems of today remained in the shade, the most acute of which is the rise in the cost of living. Despite the protests of part of the electorate and of a number of deputies, that questions was not included as a supplement in the agenda of the present session. [video shows people protesting in the street, holding placards written in Russian and Estonian: "Where is the promised compensation for price rises?"; "Mr. Savisaar, what will you feed our children on?"; and others expressing indignation at the increased price of food and transport]

Commentary Views 1940, 1990 in Baltics

*LD0508155790 Moscow World Service in English
1410 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Commentary by Vyacheslav Solovyev: "The Baltic Republics - 50 Years Since Their Becoming members of the Soviet Union, and Their Prospects"]

[Text] It's 50 years these days since laws were passed on membership of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the Soviet Union. The laws were passed as response to declarations of the three parliaments which were made in the presence of large Soviet troop contingents. The feelings of the three republics' population were complex. Apart from active supporters and opponents of that measure, many people saw joining the Soviet Union as inevitable and lesser evil in face of a threat of complete absorption by Hitler's Germany. But the Stalin administration failed to prevent the horror of Nazi occupation for the three Baltic nations, and itself acted ruthlessly to suppress their national freedom.

Unfortunately in later years the Soviet Government failed to do enough to rectify the historical injustice and errors and neglected the problems of relations between Soviet republics and nationalities. The result is that 50 years after becoming members of the Soviet Union the parliaments of the Baltic republics have proclaimed their intention to seek independence. As 50 years before, the feelings of the population are also far from uniform. The majority of the indigenous people are for full sovereignty, but the local communist parties on the platform of unity with the center and part of the Russian-speaking population are for keeping within a renewed Soviet Federation.

What is the way out of the situation, if there is one? Only recently it seemed that the positions of the sides, that is the Baltic republics versus Moscow, are so incompatible that they have the only prospect of confrontation and

trial of forces. But lately there's been a gleam of hope, comments our analyst. That is seen from the decisions by the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the three Baltic republics and the Russian Federation to open without delay preparations of Russia's bilateral treaties with each of them. As we all know, voluntarily all mutually beneficial ties breed integration, that's the global trend borne out convincingly by the European Economic Community and other associations. Whether or not the Baltic republics take part in preparing the new union treaty, cooperation and division of labor, also the interests of stability and security, will produce a degree of integration in the union of our sovereign states, and it's becoming increasingly clear that this is the future of the Soviet Union.

7 Aug Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Carried
LD0708082690

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 7 August begins carrying a live relay from an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council held in Vilnius. The relay opens with an announcer stating that the negotiations with Moscow and Russia will be debated at a closed session, and will not be broadcast. He goes on to point out that Landsbergis is not taking part in the session as he is in Switzerland.

At 0703 GMT, Deputy Kuzmickas opens the session and asks Deputy Abisalas to chair the proceedings.

At 0705 GMT, Deputy Abisalas reads the agenda. Debates start and proposals to shorten the agenda are put forward. Some deputies say that the session should not work in a hurry, and that issues of lesser importance can be decided as time permits. The first item on the agenda—negotiations with Moscow and Russia—is approved. The second item will be the kidnapping of Lithuanian citizens by the Soviet Army. The next item will be the entry of nationality in the certificate of a Lithuanian citizen. Deputies call for the session to make a statement on events in Kuwait.

At 0719 GMT, Abisalas says that corrections to the regulations of the Supreme Council and a draft law on environment will not be debated at this sitting.

At 0732 GMT, the session agenda is adopted.

At 0733 GMT, Valdas Adamkus conveys greetings to the Supreme Council on behalf of American Lithuanians.

At 0737 GMT, Abisalas announces that the deputies will discuss the negotiations with Moscow and Russia in a closed session.

At 0738 GMT, the announcer says that the proceedings will be reported in today's newscasts and the relay will resume when the session debates other items on the agenda.

Lithuanian Council Discusses Talks With Moscow

LD0608195190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
1900 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Excerpts] A sitting of chairmen of the Supreme Council permanent commissions and the government of the republic took place today.

Bronislovas Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, presiding over the sitting, informed the participants about progress in preparations for negotiations with the Soviet Union. It was pointed out that groups of experts have already been set up and are ready for work. The protocol will soon be completed by the commission for political, legal, and diplomatic preparations for negotiations with the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

C. Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, informed the participants about progress in preparations for negotiations with the Russian Federation. Prime Minister K. Prunskiene also spoke on these issues at the sitting.

Problems concerning eastern Lithuania were discussed. R. Ozolas, deputy premier of the republic, made a report on the issue. He spoke about the work carried out by the state commission and the measures that will have to be implemented in the social, economic, and cultural life of the region.

A. Paulauskas, procurator general of the Republic of Lithuania, reported on incidents of kidnapping and abducting citizens of Lithuania. This issue will be presented to the Supreme Council of the republic for discussion.

Prunskiene Interviewed on Ties With RSFSR

LD0608151890 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] According to the Radio Moscow INTERFAX agency, the Lithuanian prime minister, Kazimiera Prunskiene, has positively assessed her meeting in Moscow with the premier of the Russian Federation, Ivan Silayev. She told that discussions had centered around the prospects of cooperation between Lithuania and Russia and the drafting of specific agreements. The parties exchanged views on the plans for promoting economic reforms in the two republics. Mrs. Prunskiene described the Russian Federation as Lithuania's chief partner today which was responsible for 52 percent of her republic's foreign trade. She said that in the middle of August, Mr. Silayev would pay a visit to Vilnius for further talks.

Mrs. Prunskiene said that she had had a telephone conversation with Boris Yeltsin on Friday during which the parties agreed to have direct talks in the course of her next visit to Moscow. At the same time, the Lithuanian premier acknowledged that many aspects of the future agreements with Russia were still unclear. In the first

place, she said Russia was no partner for Lithuania in what concerned the status of Soviet Army troops on Lithuanian territory, nor with regard to the border question. There was uncertainty about the distribution of powers between the Russian Federation and the USSR, the contents of a future treaty of Union, and the functions which Russia would retain for itself and those it would delegate to the union. Friday's discussion on future deals concerning the fuel and energy complex had revealed a further in clarity: with whom exactly Lithuania might hope to sign agreements of that kind and who exactly was the owner of oil? Russia has announced resolve to its own oil deposits independently [as heard] whereas the national government was claiming control of the whole of the basic natural resources.

Mrs. Prunskiene said that her meeting on Friday with the chairman of the Moscow Soviet's Executive Committee, Mr. Luzhkov, and the deputy chairman of the Moscow Soviet, Stankevich, had confirmed the existence of a third party to possible agreements on mutual supplies. She said it was now necessary to hold talks with anyone authorized to dispose of resources but at the same time to sort out the priorities and see the would-be main partner capable of guaranteeing the fulfillment of the agreements reached. We might find ourselves in a very difficult position if we discovered after a few months that our partner had lost control over the resources, said Mrs. Prunskiene. Therefore, Lithuania had to wait until Russia agreed with the USSR on the scope of powers that each would have, and it was welcoming the increasingly evident trend towards closer unity between President Mikhail Gorbachev and the Supreme Soviet chairman of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin.

Mrs. Prunskiene said that during her talks with Prime Minister Ryzhkov, she had pointed out that in establishing contacts with the Russian Federation, Lithuania was not attempting in any way to ignore the national government. She confirmed the fact that Lithuania did not intend to sign a new treaty of Union. As they discussed forthcoming negotiations between Lithuania and the USSR, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that the delegation which he headed was ready to begin them at an early date. Mrs. Prunskiene complained that preparations for a dialogue with the Soviet leadership were slower in Lithuania than the republic's government would like them to be.

Asked by a correspondent of INTERFAX about her attitude towards criticism of the parliament's performance by 20 founders of Sajudis on the pages of the Lithuanian newspaper "RESPUBLIKA," Mrs. Prunskiene said that the critics accused the parliament of taking on too much authority, possibly for lack of experience, which sometimes was a hindrance to the government, and that the beginning of talks with the USSR had been delayed for unclear reasons. She said that she too had repeatedly criticized parliament for that and that she hoped criticism would help parliamentarians to improve their performance.

RSFSR-Lithuanian Agreement 'Not Far Off'

90UN2470A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
14 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by T. Bavykina: "Russia and Lithuania: On the Road to a New Treaty—Notes From a Press Conference"]

[Text] The peace treaty between Lithuania and Russia, whose 70th anniversary is marked by the arrival of a governmental delegation from the Russian Federation, and a new treaty, the signing of which is not far off judging by a letter from the Russian parliament to the state leadership of Lithuania and the discussion during this short meeting of parameters of possible relations between two sovereign republics... These are two landmarks in time: One is in the past, and the other is in the future, and at yesterday's press conference at the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania the conversation revolved around them.

Attending were: Ramazan Abdulatipov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Council of Nationalities; Nikolay Travkin, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia; and Anatoliy Grebenkin, deputy chairman of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. The guests were restrained but candid. For many of the questions they had their own position which was different from the position that several journalists literally thrust upon them; but they did not present it as the unique and only truth but simply as another opinion which good neighbors and practical partners must take into consideration.

It may be strange, but the position of the most radically-minded portion of society with regard to the country's future state system is expressed using a famous formula of Lenin's: At first we divide so that we can unite afterwards. To loosen the "unbreakable Union of free states" created unjustly, to confess and cleanse oneself of the filth, and then think about the future... But is it really possible to turn an evaluation of the past into a goal in itself? "We will never get out from under the influence of history," said philosopher Ramazan Abdulatipov, "if we only think about the past." Is it not better to concentrate our forces on long-term questions?

The opinion of the guests was that the USSR is transforming itself into a union of sovereign states. It is clear that the center is retaining some functions which the republics are delegating to it voluntarily and from economic expediency. The process currently taking place will show precisely which functions. Russia is already separating out the center's functions for the future Union treaty and leaving for itself incomparably more functions than it has possessed before. For instance, a special governmental committee has been created which will coordinate the activities of the KGB and the Ministry of Defense on its territory. Apparently other republics will follow this same route.

Ramazan Abdulatipov indulged in some "black humor" when he answered a question about internal forces. Do you know how the problem of Nagornyy Karabakh can be solved "once and for all"? Withdraw the forces, let the Armenians and Azeris kill one another, and the last one left alive will call Moscow and report that the ethnic question has been solved.

But "black humor" aside, R. Abdulatipov has had to visit the hot spots of our country more than once. The neglected illness of ethnic extremism will no longer be neutralized without the use of force, but fresh conscripts should not be sent there, he said. Special forces are needed.

And in general, we do not need such hot spots, of course. But ethnic hostility, said R. Abdulatipov, has a great number of causes that are not directly related to ethnic problems: Socioeconomic, political, and other causes. The people are not guilty of anything before one another, but they practically go to war just because someone confused someone else somewhere at sometime. R. Abdulatipov was among those who worked on a scientific analysis of a resolution to the Baltic problem. Five or six versions were developed, but the country's leadership did not use any of them. In this instance is it also possible to blame the Baltic republics for the haste with which they took their steps toward independence?

The guests believe that it is bad when the struggle for independence sometimes turns into a goal in itself. Nikolay Travkin said that we still have not learned to understand each person individually, and this is the main goal of restructuring the whole system of our interrelations. Incidentally, he noted that attention to the individual was one of the most important features of the 1920 treaty. Along with the spirit of goodwill and respect for one another's rights, this should also be carried over into a new treaty. Russia is already prepared today to enter into ties with Lithuania on a mutually profitable basis, but there will be no more token payments: That time has ended. World prices compel us to clearly define our possibilities and the range of our demands and to respect one another more and to manage accounts without a "benefactor"—the center. And the main thing is that they will make us spend less time in mass meetings and more time working efficiently so that people live well in both Lithuania and Russia and in all the other republics.

Academician on Economic Treaty With Russia

PM0608123990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "News From the Baltic Region"]

[Text] Vilnius—"Talks with Moscow must begin immediately," Academician E. Vilkas, an economist and deputy in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, believes. He gave an interview to EKHO LITVY, which is published in Vilnius in Russian.

The academician is puzzled as to why the Lithuanians are delaying starting talks. He assumes that "people will somehow try to attach Lithuania to the Soviet Union during the talks," and says persuasively that "we should not be afraid of this since we are bound to it by nature itself." The academician thinks that "it is better to have good friendly relations with the Soviet Union." In his opinion, such relations are possible if Lithuania "not only upholds its interests, but also tries to consider the Union's interests."

Academician E. Vilkas is a member of the parliamentary government commission formed by the republic's parliament to prepare for talks with Russia. During the interview he said that a political treaty in the form of a declaration will be signed with Russia, along with a two-part economic cooperation treaty. The first being an agreement on clearing transactions between the states. According to him, "Russia has itself proposed not to conduct transactions during the transitional period at world prices, although they will be twice as high as current prices." The second part of the economic cooperation treaty "will regulate direct ties between Lithuanian and Russian enterprises on the principles of a free common market." At the same time Academician E. Vilkas pointed out that "all this will obviously not be signed before the Union treaty takes shape."

Lithuanian Supreme Council Statement on 'Attacks'

LD0308230990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
1900 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Today, we received a statement by the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council which appraises the appeal by an intelligentsia group to the people of Lithuania, published in the press.

The statement notes that not for the first time, attempts are being made to set the Supreme Council and the government against each other. Both naturally heard critical remarks, and also of the differences in tasks and activity, and of people's individual characteristics. Unfortunately, widespread among Lithuanian society, suspicions are utilized for this purpose. Moreover, by giving rise to a great conflict, and perhaps even a crisis, new opportunities for unfavorable world propaganda against us, and designs by the president of the neighboring land to rule Lithuania—supposedly disillusioned by the decisions of its freely elected parliament—would open up.

The statement expresses that the moment has been chosen for an attack against the Supreme Council when it is preparing to hold no fewer than two extremely important negotiations—with the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation.

Attention is called to the fact that the Latvian and Estonian Supreme Councils find themselves in an analogous situation, and are experiencing no less fracturing and discreditation attempts. This, apparently, is not an accidental coincidence.

Lithuanian Intelligentsia Criticizes Council*LD0608095990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0830 GMT 6 Aug 90**[From the "Vremya" newscast]*

[Text] A wave of emotion is continuing to swell in Lithuania over the publication in the newspaper RES-PUBLIKA of an address to the citizens of Lithuania. The address—signed by well-known and highly regarded writers, artists, academics, and a group of deputies from the republic's Supreme Council—is virtually the first instance of members of the intellectual elite publicly criticizing the current Supreme Council, all be it in veiled form. The address says that, by gradually extending the boundaries of its power, the Supreme Council is placing intolerable restrictions on the activity of the Council of Ministers. It voices concern that certain sections of society are attempting, under any pretext whatsoever, to delay the start of talks with the Soviet Union. For the first time the document poses the question of whether the time has not come to elect a constituent Seimas and constitute a new authority.

The address has been given a hostile reception by the authorities and the press that is close to them; a statement issued by a group of deputies from the republic's Supreme Council calls the address unfounded; while the Sajudis caucus of deputies has described the address as incitement and an attempt to discredit the Lithuanian regime.

Appeal Could 'Wreck' Independence Process*PM0608141390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1**[TASS report: "Document Which Rocked Lithuania"]*

[Text] Vilnius, 2 Aug—A "bombshell" was how a Lithuanian Supreme Soviet deputy, who asked to remain anonymous, described the "Appeal to Residents of Lithuania" published in the the Lithuanian newspapers. This document has rocked society and prompted acute discussions.

The appeal states that the republic's Supreme Soviet has "from the very outset of its work been constantly expanding the boundaries of its power, and impermissibly and even destructively restricting and undermining the activities of the executive—the Council of Ministers," and expresses concern that "certain sectors of society and even Supreme Soviet deputies are seeking pretexts to delay the start of talks or even not to start them altogether." The appeal assesses the parliament's lawmaking activity as inconsistent. The appeal's authors have put forward the idea of "electing a constituent sejm and entrusting it with the foundations of democratic Lithuania."

The document was signed by 20 prestigious representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia and by certain Supreme Soviet deputies. A considerable number

of them are "Sajudis" aktiv members. They were joined the following day by another 10 well-known people in the republic.

There is no shortage of assessments to the contrary. The parliamentary newspaper LIETUVOS AJDAS today published a statement signed by 16 Supreme Soviet deputies. They stated that the "provisions of the 'Appeal to the Residents of Lithuania' are groundless and, in the current complex period, could cause an undesirable social reaction and confusion and wreck the difficult process of strengthening independence." It is worth noting that this statement was headlined "Dragons' Tongues Come to Life." The document was assessed negatively by the "Sajudis" Council too.

V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, speaking about the appeal at a press conference, noted that the "purpose of such attacks on the Supreme Soviet and the attempts to discredit it is clear and understandable."

The provision of the "Appeal to the Residents of Lithuania" that the Supreme Soviet is "mistrustful and suspicious" about the activity of the republic's government, is also confirmed by the fact that parliament has decided to all intents and purposes not to take a recess: An extraordinary Supreme Soviet session is scheduled to open 7 August. It plans to discuss the problems of preparing for the forthcoming talks with the USSR and the Russian Federation, the adoption of a state—Lithuanian—language in the southeastern part of Lithuania (where the majority population is Polish), and other issues.

Beer, Tobacco Price Hikes Set To Aid Economy*LD0708090690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
2100 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] Prices of beer and tobacco in Lithuania will be increased by 100 percent on 10 August. According to the Lithuanian deputy minister of finance, Vytautas Jurna, the government has been compelled to increase the prices of these products because of a large deficit in the state budget and the losses inflicted by the blockade. According to today's estimates they constitute R140 million. But this is not the final figure. The government has to find additional funds to finance some needs of the population—for instance, to extend holidays, pay higher social grants, and so on. According to the deputy finance minister, we must coordinate our actions with the Baltic market.

The prices of beer and tobacco have already been increased in Estonia and Latvia. It is expected that this measure will add R60 million to the state budget. Apart from this, the deputy finance minister noted, going over to the market economy will also increase the prices of other goods.

Dismantling of Monument in Kaunas Protested

LD0608183990 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT
6 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Kaunas August 6 TASS—A Lenin monument and the "Four Communards" memorial sculptured group, erected in commemoration of Lithuanian communists Karolys Pozele, Juozas Greifenbergerys, Kazys Gedris and Rapolas Carnas, executed in 1926, were dismantled here today.

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Civil Committee of the Lithuanian SSR lodged a protest in this connection, describing the dismantling of the monuments, which constitute works of art, as "an act of vandalism" and emphasising that the act was carried out "with the knowledge of the mayor of Kaunas and the government of the republic".

The Central Committee of the pro-CPSU Lithuanian Communist Party and the Civil Committee of the Lithuanian SSR called on workers and farmers, intellectuals, communists and non-party people and all supporters of progressive parties and movements to raise their voice in protest against militant nationalists' onslaught and to preserve the historical and cultural legacy of Lithuania.

Monuments to Lenin, Communists To Be Re-Sited

LD0608204190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
1900 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Today, monuments to Vladimir Lenin and four communists have been dismantled in Kaunas. The monuments were in the center of the city.

The monuments were dismantled by specialists from the Directorate of Municipal Services.

The future of the monuments to V. Lenin, Dzerzhinskiy, Mickevicius-Kapsukas, and the four communists was discussed at a session of the city council on 12 July.

It has been found that the erection of the monuments and their presence did not correspond to historical truth that most Kaunas inhabitants want them to be removed to some other location. However, in carrying out this task, one must adhere to the orders envisaged by law. The monuments will not be destroyed; after some restoration and cleaning up, these monuments will be erected on different sites: the monument to Lenin will be erected in the Museum of Monuments of the Soviet Period, which is planned to be set up in the republic; with the consent of relatives, the four communists monument will be erected in the Auksteji Sanciai Military Cemetery, where their remains will be also reburied.

Lithuania Fails To Celebrate Republic Status

LD0408052190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] For the first time in postwar years, 3 August is scarcely being celebrated in Lithuanian towns and villages even though it is precisely today that marks 50 years since, at the request of the People's Seimas, the USSR Supreme Soviet accepted the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic into the USSR as a Union republic with equal rights. Scarcely a word about the anniversary has appeared in the republican press.

However, far from all the republic's inhabitants are inclined to erase 3 August from history and their memory. Hundreds of representatives of the republican capital public took part in a solemn sitting organized by the Lithuanian Communist Party-CPSU Vilnius City Committee. Surblis, Lithuanian Communist Party-CPSU Central Committee Institute of Party History chairman, gave a report for the anniversary.

Lithuanian Unions, Legislature at Odds

90UN2435A Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by G. Konchyus: "Who Is Tightening His Belt?"]

[Text] Vilnius—The council of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Lithuania has come into conflict with the republic's Supreme Council.

Life in Lithuania is not becoming any easier. The economic crisis has had a painful effect on many levels of society, and the situation was intensified by the two and a half months of sanctions declared by the USSR Government. Cultural workers suffered first. After a 30 percent reduction in allocations for culture from the republic's budget, mass dismissal of club workers and librarians began. Following this example, several local organs of self-determination decided to close their departments of culture completely. And economic reform, which parliament has recently begun to discuss, promises not only a transition to the market, denationalization, and privatization of the means of production, but also—as a consequence—an aggravation of social problems and, primarily, unemployment. Under these circumstances, a report that allocations for the wages of the administration's apparatus have been significantly increased has evoked the dissatisfaction of broad levels of society.

And what about the trade unions of Lithuania, which at a recent congress declared their intention to firmly defend the interests of hired labor? Unfortunately, so far their voice has been fairly timid. For instance, at the end of June the council of the confederation proposed that the Lithuanian Supreme Council recognize (ratify) the basic conventions of the International Labor Organization. However the Supreme Council ignored the appeal of the trade unions, and the latter... kept their peace.

Nonetheless, the potential force of the confederation clearly has not given certain circles in the Lithuanian parliament peace. A plan has arisen there to settle accounts with the trade unions. A draft decree which has been distributed here envisions nationalizing all property belonging to that public organization and, as a result, abolishing its existing structures. The anonymous authors of the draft are clearly pursuing another goal as well: After nationalizing the building of the confederation's council in Vilnius and moving the trade union workers from it, they would open its doors to serve the Supreme Council itself. Since the buildings are conveniently located next door to each other...

But the council of the confederation finally decided to show some character. An assembly of the confederation's aktiv adopted an open letter which said, "Observing the activities of the parliament, the free trade unions of Lithuania have had many doubts on the occasion of the formation of the new government and the adoption of several governmental laws, but they showed goodwill toward these first steps in the hope that with time the experience of parliamentary work would compensate for present shortcomings." The letter stresses that the issue of dividing up trade union property can only be decided by the members of the trade unions themselves and that nationalization of property is not possible without interstate treaties between Lithuania and the USSR. It is also noted that such a hasty decision by the Supreme Council may contribute to the formation of new centers of tension in Lithuania, provoke conflicts, and destabilize an already unstable situation in society. If proposals to improve the labor and social conditions of the workers are ignored in the future, the free trade unions of Lithuania reserve the right to conduct protest actions.

Lithuania Debates Trade Union Property

904F0229A Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by G. Konchyus: "There Has Been No Nationalization"]

[Text] Vilnius—Many hours of extremely intense debates among deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Council have come to an end. They were discussing the draft decree "On Aid to Emerging Free Trade Unions and Utilization of the Property of Former State Trade Unions."

Concealed behind this strange title was the desire of the authors of the draft to nationalize all property of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Lithuania which it received after the reorganization as the successor to the republic trade unions.

Deputy N. Rasimavichyus who submitted the draft gave essentially only one argument: The trade unions were appropriated by the state, the membership dues were collected by coercion, and, consequently, property acquired this way should belong to the state. But he could not give an intelligent answer to the objection of

his opponents who asserted that first it would be necessary to ask the members of this organization whether or not they want to give the state their property...

Incidentally, the picketers in front of the building of the Supreme Council and the authors of numerous letters and telegrams expressed the same thing: They did not agree to be deprived of their collective property. "If such a law is adopted, the members of our collective will officially demand to be paid back their part of their dues," writes the chairman of the trade union committee of the Vilnius electrical measurement equipment plant, A. Mitskunene.

And in whose interests was it to deprive the almost 2 million trade union members of Lithuania of the material base for their existence?

The parliamentary discussion elucidated a whole spectrum of various interests. The draft was actively supported by anticommunist extreme radicals who want to destroy all old structures "down to the foundations." Joining them were advocates of the increasingly small but active Union of Lithuanian Workers. Their interest is also understandable: The weaker the trade unions are, the easier it will be to expand the influence of their organization.

Weak trade unions, naturally, would also be convenient for the government, the more so since with the change-over to the market, price increases, and other unpopular measures are inevitable. But for the sake of fairness one must say that Prime Minister K. Prunskiene, who participated in the discussion, did not support the draft of the decree.

Some of the deputies were moved by purely mercantile interests: It was suggested that the building released by the Soviet of the Confederation be turned over to the Lithuanian Supreme Council and that offices be equipped so that the members of parliament could work there. It cannot be ruled out that there were lobbyists in the corridors suggesting buying nationalized houses of recreation and sanatoriums from the state in the future.

But the initial draft of the decree did not pass. It was decided merely to conduct an inventory of trade union property or prohibit its sale or transfer to other organizations or individuals.

Lithuanian Labor Camp Employees on Strike

LD0308092690 Vilnius International Service
in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Employees at the Alytus town strict regime corrective labor colony went on strike yesterday. For half a day the situation at the colony was virtually out of control. It was guarded by soldiers. The colony's employees submitted many claims about working conditions to officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the procuracy. The most important was that they do not feel secure. They are attacked by inmates and they have

been taken hostage. Therefore they demand that more attention be paid to their problems and to their legal protection.

Lithuanian Poet Leaves Politics After Criticism

*LD0308095190 Vilnius International Service
in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 90*

[Text] An appeal signed by prominent people of art, culture, and science to the people of Lithuania, criticizing the work of the Supreme Council and urging the citizens to decide to convene a rehabilitating Seimas, is being assed in different ways in Lithuania.

Later this appeal was signed by several additional prominent people. There have been reports and denials in the press that the appeal was signed by the former foreign minister of the Republic of Lithuania, Juozas Urbys. Today Juozas Urbys stated in a television broadcast that without going deeply into the text, he signed this document. Having noticed his error, he renounced his signature.

Poet Justinas Marcinkevicius, who signed the appeal, regretted that this step has not been understood benov-
-ently, as he only wanted to indicate mistakes in the work of the parliament. Justinas Marcinkevicius stated that from today he is withdrawing from any political activity, leaving the independent Lithuanian Communist Party and giving up his activity in the Sajudis.

Irish Radio Broadcasts From Tallinn

*LD0308130190 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT
3 Aug 90*

[By ETA-TASS correspondent Ruta Pels]

[Text] Tallinn August 3 TASS—Irish Radio conducts daily 45-minute information shows from the Tallinn town square.

At an invitation from host Joe Duffy, English-speaking residents of Tallinn speak about their life, and their native land. Political news is accompanied by debates. There are music intermissions when professional and amateur Estonian groups and singers perform.

Gorbunovs Views Latvian Supreme Soviet Session

*LD0708000390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2051 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Correspondent S. Antsupov] The first Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet Session has ended. On the whole around 140 decisions and laws were adopted.

[A. Gorbunovs, Latvian Supreme Soviet chairman] Despite the fact that our work should be assessed critically we have nevertheless managed to do something. The first thing in my opinion is that we democratically

approved the government which over two months elaborated its program. The majority, the overwhelming majority of deputies, voted for this government program without belonging in any way to one faction or another.

In my opinion this reflects the political processes too, of course not unequivocally, but on the whole reflects those political processes that have taken place in our society over these months with regard to the Latvian Republic's declaration of independence.

Latvian Supreme Council Holds News Conference

*LD0608194290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
0700 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[News conference given by Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs; Andrejs Krastins, deputy chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers; and leaders of factions in the Latvian Supreme Council, marking the conclusion of the Latvian Supreme Council session, in Riga—live]

[Excerpts] [Irina Litvinova—IZVESTIYA correspondent—in Russian] My question is for Andrejs Krastins and Sergejs Dimanis [leader of the Equality Faction]. How would you assess the direct agreements being concluded between republics from an economic point of view? Are these steps toward the formation of market relations, or a new way of legalizing the former distribution relations, since there is perhaps some reduction in the freedom, the previous freedom of goods producers?

I would also like to ask a brief question of Andrejs Krastins [leader of the majority faction]: If, within the framework of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], there is to be a continuation of the issue we see emerging of self-determination and autonomy, is it proposed in future to conclude agreements with the autonomies?

[Krastins] I will reply very briefly: First, to the last question, perhaps about these autonomies coming about.

Yes, such a process is observable, especially in Tataria (?and so on), but Boris Yeltsin has replied to this, too, on several occasions, that he would give these autonomies the kind of autonomy they wish in the future, both in the economic and the political field. But personally, I myself think that these words of Yeltsin's fully correspond also to that policy which he is implementing. Well, these autonomous republics must themselves understand, however, that their situation is a little different than, you see, these territories added to the Russian state in the past. They are situated at the very center of Russia. And if they were to proclaim some kind of full sovereignty, well, that could be like that, but that would be something similar really to South Africa's Bantustans. And, on the other hand, my personal thoughts are that the more active political functioning of these autonomous republics is, of course, due to the center. I mean here the USSR leadership. As we know, during recent years we have seen the old divide and rule imperial policy. And it is

very likely that this is being done to weaken positions of Yeltsin and of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. [passage omitted]

There are new forms of economic relations, only these move directly, bypassing the almost superfluous center which is in Moscow, which has undertaken its middleman's functions and, naturally, cashes in for that. So I think that these agreements are of an entirely new type, but if some kind of economic interests arise for the Republic of Latvia in some definite autonomy in any state, and if it would be possible to conclude such an economic agreement there, then, of course, if this would be advantageous to us, we would not refuse—preserving, of course, our status as an independent state.

[Dimanis] I think the agreements currently being concluded between republics are normal and will not damage the establishment of direct economic ties between producers. Intergovernmental agreements or interparliamentary agreements are always limited, since they are not capable of taking into account the whole complex of interrelationships which is essential. And it is quite obvious that in these agreements one needs to provide for every possibility of direct ties between enterprises. But if enterprises start cooperating, they will need something more than just an intergovernmental agreement between republics. They will need a general law regulating the system of cooperation; they will need rules of economic behavior regulating the system of cooperation; they will need some kind of general decisions, like governmental decisions, to resolve common structural problems, problems concerning the state of the market. Thus, I think these relations will necessarily lead to relations like that of a union of equal states. The whole point lies in is how far these agreements will reflect the purely political aspect of the matter. At the moment, we can see two factors: On the one hand, Gorbachev is proposing himself and the Union agreement; on the other, Yeltsin is proposing himself and an aggregate of some kind of direct, bilateral agreements between republics. We are now choosing the second alternative, since the second gives us the feeling of being an independent state. Nevertheless, in my opinion—and as far as I understand the economy of the Soviet Union—it is not linear, so it is unlikely that all problems can be solved on the basis of bilateral interrepublican agreements. It has, as I have repeatedly stated, a very complex structure, and sooner or later it will be necessary to conclude something common, which will differ qualitatively from the sum of the bilateral agreements. I think this will happen quite soon.

At present, the republics are going through a period of becoming aware of their own genuine interests, but the situation is generally absurd. Now in the Soviet Union, Turkmenia is the only republic which has not managed to say anything meaningful about its own sovereignty. All this means that, after defining their own interests, the republics will start concluding agreements among themselves. The state of the Union market is already such that it is high time to embark upon all-Union adjustment. Oil

already costs the same as meat—tonne for tonne. Soon prices of wool and cotton will rise sharply, and all this will get out of control and these will become the first problems requiring a solution by everyone, together.

As for autonomization—I think this is just a normal process. I have just received a phone call from some friends in Karelia—they too confirmed their sovereignty and the next day their fuel disappeared, so we immediately understand that one must approach this matter truly from an economic point of view. I think Yeltsin drew a very fine and correct conclusion from Gorbachev's mistakes. Namely, that if you want something, you should be given it. If you want autonomy—please take it. If you want the status of a union republic—OK. Sovereignty—go ahead. Independence—but of course. Anything else? Please God, take everything you want, since it is perfectly obvious that you cannot go anywhere. Where, for instance, can Bashkiria go when, say, Bashkirs and Tatars cooperate as producers and refiners of oil? And where will they go, when the appropriate equipment is supplied by other oblasts of the RSFSR? You can say that all of this can be organized along interrepublican, almost interstate, lines of exchange. But in reality it is not so. Interstate relations—the level of integration that has been achieved—cannot be exhausted. Thus I view all these agreements quite calmly and consider that these are really all parts of an essential cooperation. (?But we will have to wait and see what specific points they contain), for here it is not clear to me how relations will be formed.

[Gorbanovs] I would like to fully support Sergejs Dimanis regarding Gorbachev and Yeltsin. It appears to me that at present the tendency has become very obvious that Yeltsin takes care first of all of the republic—that is, Russia—and he supports this also for Latvia, at least while being here and speaking—become self-dependent, independent, and after that forming a union, if this is necessary, and, evidently, it will be necessary. But Gorbachev speaks of the independence of republics, but does not do anything for this independence to be realized, and tries all the time with this word game to consolidate the center. And in practice this is without future prospects. At present, what has been proposed by Yeltsin has virtually no alternative. This does not mean that there would not be immense problems and immense difficulties here, but a union could become a union of really independent states, when these states become independent states, at least de jure, because I understand that de facto there are a great many problems which will become resolved both by way of talks and by life itself. But, nevertheless, it must be started de jure, by the independence of states. And it appears to me that to this moment Gorbachev has not understood this, but Yeltsin has understood precisely this, and, therefore, to my mind, he is pursuing this road. [passage omitted]

Latvian Supreme Council News Conference Reported
LD0608134890

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0700 GMT on 6 August begins a live broadcast from Riga of the Latvian Supreme Council's end of session news conference. The Supreme Council chairman, deputy chairman, and faction leaders are invited to express their opinions regarding the council's work.

At 0704 GMT, Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs discusses the necessity of the proper functioning of a new parliamentary mechanism. He says that three months was not quite enough time for this, but that certain forms of works had developed. There was also satisfaction about commissions' work. There were difficulties with the two-thirds votes requirement for amendments to the Constitution, the number of deputies present had not exceeded 150. Gorbunovs says that the experience of other countries' parliaments should be considered and some improvements should be made. He also mentions that, generally, the work corresponded to the Declaration of Independence. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is working under the republic and will, in the future, be fully under the Supreme Council's authority.

At 0714 GMT, Deputy Council of Ministers Presidium Chairman Andrejs Krastins remarks on the council's international contacts; on failures in properly establishing them with the former socialist-camp countries, due to elections and changes there; and on contacts with the Russian Federation, Moldova.

At 0720 GMT, Janis Dinevics, a leader of the majority faction, talks about the complicated situations from which the parliament has emerged honorably. He continues about the possibility of constructive work in the future. There is a necessity, he says, of more deputies to be present.

At 0725 GMT, Dimanis, the leader of the Equality faction, says that the further they move away from the 4 May emotions, the better the work will succeed. There is no essential difference between the factions, because they both want good for the republic.

At 0728 GMT, questions begin, with Dace Zvirbule, from the "Horizons" program; who asks about independent deputies. Gorbunovs and Krastins reply. Krastins says that there are only three, but that they—Plotnieks, Alekseyev, and Zotov—cannot truly be described as such. Dinevics agrees with Krastins, and says that the People's Front faction should preserve its unity. Dimanis gives the example about how his faction had voted on the bank question.

At 0740 GMT, (?Ivete Buke) asks whether Dimanis' faction does not stand any longer for remaining within the Union. Dimanis says that they did object to the procedure of the declaration; they stand for the market, but will vote against authoritarianism.

At 0743 GMT, Maris Mednis, from ATMODA, questions Gorbunovs about his talks with Yeltsin.

At 0745 GMT, an IZVESTIYA correspondent speaks in Russian to Krastins. Krastins, in Latvian, says that it is due to the center's attitude that autonomies are developing and also talks about the agreements with the Russian Federation. Dimanis, who speaks in Russian, remarks about economic matters and also mentions differences between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Gorbunovs adds that he agrees with Dimanis about Gorbachev and Yeltsin, that the latter advocated independence first and any possible union afterwards, but Gorbachev stressed the importance of the Union while doing nothing with regard to independence.

At 0756 GMT, there is a question about the attitude toward the Citizens' Congress.

At 0758 GMT, Andrejs Krastins refers to Dimanis' remarks about the emotions of 4 May; he says that the further they distance themselves from these emotions, the more ineffective their work will become.

At 0759 GMT, Sarmite Elerte, chairman of the news conference, announces that she will no longer be the head of the Supreme Council's press center and that any news conferences are not likely during the recess. She goes on to say that the new session of the Supreme Council will begin on 3 September.

The live relay concludes at 0803 GMT.

Group Formed To Commemorate Latvian SS Legion
LD0408035290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] In Latvia the (Daugavas Vanagi) organization—the Daugava Falcons—is being formed. Its founders are not hiding from the public the fact that this organization will be concerned with preserving the heroes who served in the Latvian SS legion in the people's memory. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, at a meeting of the ideological commission, noted that the attempt to create this organization in the republic in the form of the one existing in the West is evidence that certain political circles in the republic either do not understand what they are doing or want to create an organized force of people who earlier participated in the struggle against Soviet power.

Independent Daily To Replace Latvian Paper
LD3007201290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
0430 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] This morning at the editorial office of the newspaper CINA there is a sad but much-promising mood. The long-serving editorial collective's last issue of CINA is on its way to readers.

It is possible that the newspaper of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee will reappear on

Tuesday, 31 July, but under a different composition of editorial office workers. Ninety percent of the former journalists have remained loyal to their ideas, and hope to publish the NEATKARIQA CINA [INDEPENDENT CINA] newspaper in August. This has in fact already been confirmed. (Andris Jakubans) has been appointed editor, and (Eriks Hanbergs) has been confirmed in the position of assistant editor.

Our correspondent was told by the editor of NEATKARIQA CINA, that the newspaper might be a shareholding enterprise. It will be possible to subscribe to it beginning in October. The price of a single issue in the Press Association kiosks will be five kopecks. NEATKARIQA CINA will reflect the standpoint of the Independent Communist Party of Latvia, as well as other movements.

Estonian Soviet Holds Extraordinary Session

*LD0608151690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1430 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet began in Tallinn today. Here's our Tallinn correspondent, Heymar Lenk:

[Lenk] Both the deputies' deliberations and the slogans shouted by protestors outside Government House were connected with a historic date. Fifty years ago today Estonia became part of the USSR. Nowadays, the events of 1940 in the Baltics are interpreted in different ways by different political movements. The official assessment by the current Estonian leadership denies the revolutionary nature of the summer of 1940 and deems the republic's incorporation in the Union a forced step.

Today, as was again confirmed in the speeches at the session by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Edgar Savisaar, the head of government, the adopted policy is one of restoring complete independence to Estonia. The deputies see talks with the Soviet leadership as the only way to achieve this. A decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic was adopted at the session on relations between the Estonian Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Estonia Parliament To Hear No-Confidence Motion

*LD0608194390 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 1900 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] Estonia's Supreme Soviet has opened an emergency session in Tallinn. The Moscow-based independent news agency INTERFAX says a group of deputies favouring equal rights and the Soviet Union's territorial integrity intend to bring a motion of no confidence in the Estonian government.

Estonian Plenum Statement on CPSU Congress

*90UN2314C Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 28 Jun 90 p 1*

[Statement of the Sixth Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee "On the Status of the Estonian Communist Party and Participation in the Work of the 28th CPSU Congress"]

[Text] At the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress convened 23-25 March 1990, proclamation was made of the creation of an independent Estonian Communist Party and the beginning of a transition period from the republic organization of the Estonian Communist Party to the independent Estonian Communist Party, which will last until autumn of this year. Over 100,000 communists, members of the Estonian Republic organization of the CPSU as of the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress, remained CPSU members following the congress. The period of their individual self-determination has begun, during which each communist must decide his relationship to the CPSU and to the Estonian Communist Party. An essential factor in this self-determination will be the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress.

At the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress, 17 delegates were elected to the 28th CPSU Congress, representing about 70,000 CPSU members registered in 20 city and rayon organizations as of the time of 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress. In accordance with their applications, the city organizations of Narva, Kohtla-Jarve, and Sillamya, as well as the party organizations of Kalininskiy and Morskoy Rayons of the city of Tallinn, and of the Estonian Maritime Shipping Line and the "Estrybprom" Production Association, have been given the right, by a decision of the 17th plenum of the Estonian Communist Party, to elect nine delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress by party electoral district.

The 20th congress elected an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee to conduct organizational work for the transition period. The Central Committee includes representatives from organizations which support the Estonian Communist Party program as well as organizations which do not.

After the conclusion of the work of the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress, 123 delegates (17 percent of the total number) remained and declared their meeting a continuation of the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress, repeating this event on 20 June under the same name. Participants in this event proposed to the credentials commission of the 28th CPSU Congress that the credentials of delegates elected at the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress be acknowledged as invalid since these delegates represent just a little more than 4,000 registered members of the independent Estonian Communist Party.

In accordance with this, the Sixth Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee declares:

In accordance with CPSU Rules, a minority of delegates of the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress does not have the right to declare their meetings the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress or to use the name "Estonian Communist Party" for themselves.

Delegates elected at the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress represent at the CPSU congress two-thirds of the CPSU members from 20 cities and rural rayons of Estonia. Some of these communists have, over recent months, submitted an application to leave the CPSU. This process is taking place in all other Union republics and oblasts as well and it cannot be tied to the representation of delegates at the 28th CPSU Congress, since this inevitably reflects only the situation on the day of elections. Delegates elected at the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress are going to the congress in order to express the views of all who have been CPSU members over the decades on the political and economic situation in the USSR, to give their appraisal of previous CPSU activity, and to introduce proposals with respect to the future CPSU.

Proceeding from the aforementioned, the authority of delegates elected at the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress to the 28th CPSU Congress is in no way related to the number of members registered in the independent Estonian Communist Party.

[Signed] E.-A. Sillari, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee

Estonian Official Cited on Storage of Firearms

LD0408141990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] (Vyala Rikas), deputy minister of internal affairs of Estonia, has stated that according to his information there are no armed military uniting in Estonia. The text of the USSR President's decree has been conveyed to every staff member. Continuous work has showed that there are still people illegally storing firearms, including some with rifles.

As for measures adopted to fulfill the presidential decree, the deputy minister said, we are appealing to the republic's government for a temporary ban on the sale of hunting weapons in stores. We also plan to use the mass media to urge the public to hand in illegally stored weapons. It should be noted, (Vyala Rikas) stressed, that the Estonian-language newspapers in the republic did not publish the decree of the USSR president, thereby creating some problems with its implementation.

Estonian Deputy Opposes Phosphorite Development

LD0608171790 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT
6 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn August 6 TASS—If the development of phosphorites begins in Estonia, that would be a deal

behind the people's back, Pavel Panfilov, people's deputy of the Republican Supreme Soviet, believes

According to Panfilov, an intention of Lithuanian authorities to start the ecologically-harmful development of phosphorites was evidenced by a statement made in the United States by Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Algirdas Brazauskas that under the economic cooperation agreement signed between the three Baltic republics "the Estonians may make good use of phosphorites."

Way back in 1988 the population of Estonia is known to have vigorously opposed the ecologically harmful development of phosphorites. The drive cost former Prime Minister Bruno Saul his position.

An "agreement on economic cooperation between Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia" was signed in Vilnius on April 12, this year, by Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and his Latvian and Lithuanian counterparts.

Before signing the document, the Baltic prime ministers had discussed the economic resources of their republics. The remark by Brazauskas about the forthcoming "good use" of phosphorites by the Estonians cannot be accidental, Panfilov believes.

Estonia, Leningrad Cooperation Communique Carried

90UN2314B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Communique "On the Meeting of the Chairman of the Government of the Estonian Republic and the Chairman of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies"]

[Text] On 26 June 1990, a meeting took place in Leningrad between the chairman of the government of the Estonian Republic and the chairman of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies. Participating in the meeting were:

On the Estonian Republic side—Chairman of the government E. Savisaar, Justice Minister J. Raidla, and government adviser V. Yushkin;

On the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies side—A. Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies, A. Shchelkanov, chairman of the Leningrad Ispolkom [Soviet Executive Committee], and V. Churov, Leningrad Soviet deputy.

The meeting took place in a spirit of mutual understanding and confirmed the intentions of both sides to actively and systematically promote the establishment of direct political, economic, trade, scientific-technological, education, tourist trade, and other ties on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Both sides' faithfulness to the ideals of freedom, sovereignty, and democracy was confirmed. In this regard, the sides condemned administrative methods and any forms of coercion in inter-regional economic relations.

Meeting participants informed one another about the situation in their regions. The readiness was expressed and the need declared to repulse, in coordinated actions, conservative forces from purposefully impeding progressive change in the political and economic situations both within the regions and between them. The sides see resolution of many economic and political problems in the establishment of direct contacts between Estonia and its regions, and Leningrad.

Negotiations between representatives of the government of the Estonian Republic and the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies are seen by the sides as an integral part of future negotiations between the Estonian Republic and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

The chairmen of the government of the Estonian Republic and the Leningrad Soviet ascertained the presence of long-standing historical and geographical ties between the people of Estonia and the residents of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast. Relations between Estonia and Leningrad should be based on long-term bilateral treaties. This is dictated both by the necessity of the present time and by historical traditions.

The sides reached agreement regarding the necessity of beginning negotiations on the level of official delegations in the following spheres:

- economic cooperation and preparation of treaties on trade for 1991;
- study and joint development of mechanisms for effecting transition to a market economy;
- cooperation in the political and legal spheres, including questions of citizenship, migration, and ownership;
- expansion of cooperation in the humanitarian spheres, including the development of Estonian and Russian culture centers in Leningrad and Estonia, respectively;
- joint study and resolution of ecological problems.

The sides agreed to begin negotiations in the aforementioned areas not later than 10 July of this year.

The sides agreed to exchange up-to-date information on matters of mutual interest. The sides will study the opportunities for mutually beneficial use of international treaties concluded by the Estonian Republic.

Meeting participants expressed support for contacts between the Leningrad Soviet and the Tallinn Soviet. The sides consider the treaties being concluded between Leningrad and Tallinn as an integral part of mutual relations between the RSFSR and the Estonian Republic.

In order to continue the dialogue, an invitation was extended to Leningrad Soviet Chairman A. Sobchak by the government of the Estonian Republic to make an

official visit to Estonia in August of this year. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

[Signed] E. Savisaar, chairman of the Government of the Estonian Republic,

[Signed] A. Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies

[Dated] Leningrad, 26 June 1990

Communists Seen 'Fighting Among Themselves'

PM0608094990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Leonid Levitskiy: "Are Estonia's Communists Uniting?"]

[Text] Tallinn—A meeting of Estonia's communist aktiv has adopted a decision on holding its 21st congress.

For the first time in the past few months members of Estonia's two communist parties met in the same auditorium. This step toward a possible rapprochement had been predetermined by the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress. These decisions were supported by virtually all speakers. Assessments of the current situation in the republic—the exacerbation of the economic and social crisis—largely coincided as well. The need to uphold working people's interests and to galvanize communists in soviets at all levels—above all, at the Supreme Soviet—was stressed.

Nonetheless, the intensity and sharpness of the discussion showed that the auditorium was far from unanimous. The basis of the contradictions was the question of what shape the 21st congress should take and how it should be made unifying. The essence of differences between representatives of the independent communist party and the party advocating ideological and organizational unity with the CPSU was clearly formulated in the speeches by Yaak Allik and Pavel Panfilov. The first opinion was that the 21st congress should be a congress of communists sharing the program of the previous congress.

The second opinion: P. Panfilov believes that these conditions are not the best platform for unification and that a party with "two wings" is entirely realistic. Another option is possible too: The two parties would remain and a bloc of left-wing forces would be set up.

"Communists have struggled for a great deal and against a great deal. Now they are fighting among themselves," Alla Ovchinnikova, secretary of Narva City party committee, noted. "We cannot fail to unite to protect the people's interests..."

By way of preparation for the congress, it was decided to set up a commission of representatives of all city and rayon party committees—and this is a hopeful sign. After all, party committees today are also divided between the communist parties. The congress will be held in October or early November.

Estonian Statement on 1940 'Occupation' Reported
90UN2314A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 20 Jun 90 p 1

[Statement of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet "In Connection with the 50th Anniversary of the Occupation of the Estonian Republic by the USSR"]

[Text] June 17, 1940 was a turning point in the modern history of Estonia. On that day USSR troops occupied the independent Estonian Republic. All subsequent resolutions determining the destiny of Estonia failed to express the will of the Estonian people. Estonia was torn away from Europe and its people forced to live in accordance with customs which did not conform to their traditions and desires.

Now, after half a century, real opportunities have arisen for the restoration of historical justice and the creation of a free and secure future for Estonia. The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic considers an inevitable premise for this to be acknowledgement by the USSR of the fact of occupation and annexation of the Baltic states in 1940.

Proceeding from the mandate entrusted to it by the people and from the measure of responsibility afforded the highest organ of power, the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic for its part will do everything to see to it that Estonia's return to the family of independent European states proceeds peacefully and within the observance of democratic principles and the maintenance of international security.

Strike at 'Estoniya' Mine Reported

90UN2419B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 12 Jul 90 p 2

[Report by ETA correspondent A. Kapov: "'Estoniya' Strikes"]

[Text] Kohtla-Järve, 11 July (ETA)—Unpredictable—that is how Aleksandr Yesipko, chairman of the trade union committee of the Estoniya mine, characterized the situation that had developed at the enterprise by noon.

The workers did not go down into the mine for the beginning of the first shift. There was a rally at which they discussed the decisions of the First Congress of Miners in Donetsk. At the rally they adopted a resolution to support all the miners' demands and made a demand to the leaders of the Estonian Association and the Estonian territorial trade union committee of the branch to resolve immediately, in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the issue of introducing wholesale prices for shale, which should envision no less than a doubling of miners' wages. There was also a demand to reorganize the Estonian Association with the goal of granting the miners and the mining areas real economic and work independence whereby the money earned at the enterprises would remain there and the labor collectives would dispose of it.

Participants in the rally selected a strike committee which will have to decide the issue of the strike. The majority of the members of the strike committee favored limiting the strike to one shift. But there were also those who demanded a 24-hour strike. It was decided that the members of the strike committee should go to their various sections and listen to the opinions of the workers.

And so, another strike. And again there were the words of the miners that their appeals to the leadership of the association did not find support in the trade union organs. The initiative group which organized the strike was headed by Anatoliy Minayev, foreman of the explosive section and chairman of the trade union committee. Here is what A. Popovich, deputy mechanic of the fifth section, told our correspondent:

"If you take our earnings and look at them on the scale of the city you will find that the mining profession has no prestige. If we do not raise our voices and remind people of our demands we shall achieve nothing."

"I think that this strike is inexpedient. It will only harm our economy," said tunneler Yuriy Zaytsev. "Strike days cost R120,000. So would it not be better to work the days and transfer the money into the fund for aid to coal miners who live under terrible conditions compared to ours."

So far the Estoniya mine is standing idle. During the second half of the day a rally supporting the decisions of the congress of miners in the Donbass took place at the Akhtme mine as well.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Interviewed by East European Paper

AU0608131690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
3 Aug 90 p 5

[Unsigned NOVOSTI report "specially for" RZECZPOSPOLITA: "A Conversation With Boris Yeltsin: The Path to Independence Is a Natural Process"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin said that his last holiday in Jurmala, two years ago, coincided with what was a difficult period for him psychologically. The stay in the resort town clearly helped him then and he had now returned to Jurmala for 12 days following his tough political battles.

Asked about whether there were serious differences between his policies and those of Mikhail Gorbachev and about what his relations with Gorbachev were like he said: "Relations between us will be based on dialogue, political talks, and will certainly not harm Russia's sovereignty or interests." "I reject everything that was personal about them, because we have now reached a point at which we cannot allow any personal elements to come into play."

Boris Yeltsin went on to say: "I made the first move and was the first to hold out my hand. Gorbachev responded by also making a move, and we have shaken hands. Nevertheless, as far as politics is concerned, our views differ on certain issues, although there are a lot of similarities. I am a firm advocate of decentralization—in politics, economics, and with regard to all structures. In some of his speeches Gorbachev says that what he has been doing in practice, even his latest decrees, attest to a return to centralization—decisions are once again being made by the government of the USSR, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the KGB. That is why we differ very much in our views. I am in favor of republican independence, of a minimal role for the center, one that is solely confined to strategic courses that are common to the whole country."

Replying to a question about how he saw the way forward to a settlement of mutual relations between the center and the Baltic republics, a situation that Mikhail Gorbachev described as "the Baltic crisis" at a meeting of the Presidential Council, Boris Yeltsin said: "It seems to me that the center is still displaying dictatorial tendencies in relation to the Baltic republics. However, the situation today is different from what it was six months ago, or even three months ago. The center will no longer be dealing just with the three Baltic Republics, but also with many others, because they are all announcing the primacy of their rights and maximum independence. The center will have to give serious thought to how it should change its policy in this respect."

Boris Yeltsin said he hoped that that the agreement between Russia and Latvia will contain a special section on emigration and social protection for the Russian population in Latvia as well as for Latvians living in Russia. According to the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the agreement between the two republics—the Russian Federation and Latvia—should be ready for signing in six weeks at the latest.

Yeltsin Begins Russian Tour in Tataria

*LD0608193390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin today started a tour of Russia. He has arrived in Tataria. In Almetyevsk, the president of Russia visited the Minnebayevo gas refinery, where there was a gas explosion in June last year. He took an interest in the workers' living and working conditions and had a conversation with the works aktiv. Tomorrow's program will also be intensive—meetings with labor collectives in Almetyevsk and Naberezhnyye Chelny. After Tataria, Boris Nikolayevich will visit Bashkiria, parts of the Urals, Vorkuta and the Far East.

Silayev, Chuchalin Discuss RSFSR Health Care *LD0608153590*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1040 GMT on 6 August carries a 20-minute program "At First Hand: A National Health Program for the People of Russia." Journalist Aleksandr Belotserkovets begins the program citing health statistics from a letter sent by Aleksandr Grigoriyevich Chuchalin, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Council of Ministers. The program arranged for the two to meet and carries a recording of part of their meeting.

Chuchalin is heard first. He outlines his solution to Russia's health care problems saying: "The main aim is to create a national program for the health of the nation." He proposes a national health institute which would have as its main task to develop programs, select experts to tackle specific problems on a competitive basis, and allocate funds with which to do so. The institute would be attached to the government of Russia, Chuchalin says.

Silayev notes that a council of experts and a national health institute are the main components for tackling Russia's health problems.

Chuchalin then looks at some of the most pressing problems. First is the need "to return doctors to the patient." At the moment, a patient might see anyone; patients are often handed over to first aid teams and locums.

Silayev responds: "So it turns out that we have created the problem ourselves. Medical help should be accessible and the isolation of the patient must be excluded irrespective of his sphere or activity, his place of residence, or profession etc."

The problem of ensuring equally good care for all citizens is also a priority. Chuchalin says: "I think that the first thing that the National Health Institute would do would be to draft correct decisions for the government. Unfortunately, the decisions as to how the health service developed in the 60's and 70's is what you have just seen. Rural hospitals began to be closed down as did medical assistants' offices." He adds, "After all we don't need professors in every village. That is an absurd task. But it was always typical of Russia to have a medical assistant [feldsher] and a nurse and one of the other most important problems is the problem of education. We train lots of doctors but give very little thought to training medical assistants."

Silayev wonders whether this is not discriminating against the rural population if qualified doctors are only to be allocated to the towns. Chuchalin explains: "For the most part people are in need of primary medical assistance." The recording ends.

Belotserkovets announces that the presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation met on 3 August. The first issue on the agenda was the draft of the state program, "The Health of the People of Russia." Silayev said he envisages the program extending beyond physical well-being to spiritual health and morality and reminded the presidium that appointing the heads of such state programs and allocating financial and material resources to them is part of the new way in which the government works. He proposed Chuchalin as head of this particular program.

Belotserkovets says that Chuchalin presented a report on the program which was debated and adopted in the first reading. It is now to be discussed nationwide.

The program concludes with an interview with Silayev. He says: "I think there should be specific emphasis connected with various situations, particularly the health care that has developed in the town and in the countryside. I should like those developing the program—and I have asked Aleksandr Grigoriyevich about this—to place particular stress on the whole infrastructure of health care in rural areas taking into account first of all the enormous neglect of the countryside altogether in many areas, particularly in the non-black soil zone, the particular features of geographical [word indistinct] location and the different distribution of the population as compared with the town which means that different approaches are required." Silayev wants "equal approaches with normative requirements of some kind" to ensure equality of health care for town and countryside. Silayev stresses the need for educational programs on morality to create "citizens of the Russian Federation who are healthy in all respects." This too should be part of the health care program, he concludes.

Polozkov Meets Russian Writers

PM0608131990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 4 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by G. Orekhonova: "Discussion with Russian Writers"]

[Text] I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee, met a group of Russian writers.

There was a frank discussion of the situation in the republic and the country following the 28th CPSU Congress, and the ways of implementing its decisions. The meeting participants expressed serious concern about the notable social and ethnic tension, crime, and spiritual aridity. These problems can only be overcome and people's confidence restored through work and specific steps to improve the situation, to extricate the republic from the crisis, and to bring about Russia's spiritual revival. It will be impossible to solve this problem without the participation of Russia's creative and intellectual forces and without consultation with

writers, scientists, and artistes. The party, I.K. Polozkov said, will do everything to ensure that the artist's voice reflecting the motherland's pain and suffering is heard loud, authoritatively, and convincingly by the people.

Russian Deputy Says Bank Dispute Over

LD0608132390 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] In the opinion of (Valeriy Skripchenko), a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the conflicts between Russia's parliament and the USSR State Bank, which began a week and a half ago, have ended in favor of the Russian parliament. Mr. (Skripchenko) says that the decree of the USSR president calls on the republics to only refrain from eliminating the present banking system and contains no bans. And so, says Mr. (Skripchenko), the Russian Federation will continue to form an independent banking system which the State Bank has opposed. Russia has already proclaimed the branches of the State Bank on its territory its own property. They are acquiring commercial independence and will later become joint stock associations.

Draft Party Control Commission Rules Published

90UN2491A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 29 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Draft "Regulations on the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party"—first three paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Preparation for the second phase of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party is nearing completion.

A draft Action Program of the Communist Party, drafts of its main normative documents, drafts of possible congress resolutions, and materials for the report are being discussed in working groups of the Coordinating Council, formed from already elected members of the Central Committee. Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, members of the preparation committee, party activists, and scholars are involved in this work.

It is proposed that drafts of the basic documents be published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and in the local party press so that communists and everyone interested in the formation of the Russian Communist Party may express their attitude towards them.

The Coordinating Council presents the draft Regulations on the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party for discussion. We ask that proposals and comments be directed to the following address: Coordinating Council, RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, 4 Staraya Square, Moscow.

1. The Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party is elected by the party congress with the aim of exercising control over the activity of the central organs

of the RSFSR Communist Party, their apparatus and institutions, and over the observance of regulatory requirements in the party organizations of the republic.

The commission is guided in its work by the CPSU Rules and these regulations. It is accountable only to the congress and conference of the RSFSR Communist Party.

2. The Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party exercises control:

- over the execution of program documents and CPSU Rules in the party organizations of the republic;
- of decisions of congresses and conferences of the RSFSR Communist Party;
- of the observance of democratic principles in the activity of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party and its executive organs; it appeals their decisions if these contradict program provisions or rules;
- undertakes measures in the event of incidents of bureaucratism, suppression of criticism, abuse of official position, and arbitrariness in party politics;
- facilitates the strengthening of party ranks and party comradeship, enhancement of the prestige and independence of primary party organizations;
- protects, within the framework of its jurisdiction, the legal rights, honor, and dignity of communists;
- ensures that encroachments are not made upon the right of the minority to argue its positions in the party organizations and elective party organs, and that decisions taken are executed by all communists;
- monitors, in the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party, its executive organs and apparatus, and in its institutions and enterprises, observance of established procedure for examining the appeals of party organizations, letters, and statements;
- examines appeals it receives from party organizations and communists, and introduces proposals in the appropriate organizations to eliminate identified deficiencies;
- brings to accountability, in accordance with the CPSU Rules, any communist whose actions undermine party discipline, the norms of social ethics, or the party's authority;
- a decision of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party concerning expulsion from the party is reported to the primary party organization; in the event of objection being raised, the matter is examined again—this time with the invitation of a representative of the party organization, following which the commission makes its final decision;

—examines appeals of decisions by republic (ASSR) [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], kray, and oblast party committees and corresponding control commissions on expulsion from the CPSU and on punishments;

—monitors execution of the budget of the RSFSR Communist Party, and audits the financial and economic activity of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, its institutions, publishing houses, and enterprises;

—examines disagreements arising between republic (ASSR), kray, and oblast party committees, and corresponding control commissions;

—provides methodological assistance to the control commissions of republic (ASSR), kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations, analyzes their practical record, and generalizes their activity history.

3. The Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party and its chairman are elected by the RSFSR Communist Party Congress. Communists elected to the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party may not be members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee or functionaries in its apparatus.

Plenary sessions of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party are conducted as necessary but not less frequently than twice per year; they are also conducted on the demand of one third of its members.

4. The Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party elects the presidium of the commission and board of appeals at its plenum, and determines the scope of their authority. It forms standing commissions and control groups by work-area orientation from the membership of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party and from other communists as well. The board of appeals is headed by the first deputy chairman of the Control Commission.

The presidium presents an annual report of its activity to the plenum of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party.

5. Members of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party participate with the right of deliberative vote in the work of plenums and commissions of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. The chairman of the Control Commission and his deputies participate in meetings of the Politburo, Secretariat, and other executive organs of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee.

6. The Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party operates openly and regularly informs party organizations regarding its activity. Its adopted resolutions are published in the press. Control Commission members present regular reports in the party organizations.

7. The Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party uses party budget funds to maintain an apparatus

necessary for its operation and provide material-technical support for its activity. Funding for these purposes is determined at a joint plenum of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party.

8. Differences arising between the Control Commission and the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee are resolved by conciliation commissions established on principles of equal footing, as well as at joint plenums or meetings of the Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party.

A joint resolution is considered adopted if, by separate voting procedure, at least two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee and of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party vote for it.

9. The Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party adopts resolutions on matters falling within its jurisdiction. It ratifies acts on audit results and presents these to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and the leaders of audited institutions and enterprises, who are obligated to inform the commission in timely fashion as to measures taken.

Members of the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party have the right, in exercising their functions as stipulated in the CPSU Rules and these regulations, to use all documents of the RSFSR Communist Party.

Moscow Constitutional Democrats on 1917 'Coup'

LD0308102790 Moscow World Service in English
0800 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] According to the Radio Moscow INTERFAX agency, the Moscow council of the Constitutional Democrats—CD party—has suggested that the city council should consider without delay the need to remove from the city's map the names commemorating the organizers of the October 1917 coup d'etat and activists of the state apparatus and undemocratic dictatorship. The CD's, they said in their statement, believe that the presence of monuments to the Bolshevik leaders whose crimes against the country and people are broadly known is absolutely inadmissible from the moral, ethical, and political viewpoints.

State Capital Needed for Rural Road Building

PM0308115390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report by Ye. Nikonov and N. Dmitrov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Well comrades, there is a bumper harvest this year and the main problem now is to bring it in and preserve it. The grain is transported in trucks. Every time a truck hits a rut, it sways from side to side. How much grain is lost this way? No one can tell. In

Russia alone the requirement for normal roads is ten times higher than what we have. Given the present level of capital investment, it will take 30 years to meet this requirement. Thirty years if we rely on state capital investments alone.

[Correspondent] Here you see the inauguration of a rural road. There is even the traditional ribbon to cut. Another artificial occasion? One of the old inhabitants of Zasulye village was overjoyed. [video shows villagers] I will be able to walk down the road in slippers now, he said, meaning instead of rubber boots. In Yadrinskiy Rayon, Zasulye is by no means the only village which has in recent years been deleted from the list of condemned villages. Hard surface roads to livestock units and threshing floors are currently also being built by the "Spetsstroyemkhanizatsiya" Trust. This is a major organization with an annual turnover of 100 million rubles. The collective is operating under the leasing system. This has introduced new elements in its life. The builders are now interested not just in building projects but also in investing capital advantageously and working with a long-term view. Since good rural roads are a commodity which is in short supply, it is advantageous for the trust to work here, investing its own funds to begin with. With their own money they buy the necessary equipment and develop the industrial base. They have, for instance, built this asphalt and bitumen plant. [video shows plant] Right now, they could build between 50 and 100 percent more roads in the rayon. But the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhoses [state farms] are not rushing in with orders. They do not have the necessary funds for this.

[Trust director I.V. Roshchin] At this stage, state capital investments are needed. But in principle it is necessary to introduce new purchasing prices which would enable every kolkhoz to resolve its financial tasks by itself. When this happens, everything will be very simple. At the moment we work with subsidies. The subsidies come through the republic Council of Ministers, the rayon, and so forth. That involves personalities, there are sympathies and antipathies. If we are given assistance in the development of capacities here, even if only for a limited period, we will offer after-sale service on the roads which we build.

Small Enterprises Plan To Earn Profit

PM0308154790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report by S. Sergeyev and G. Kononov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The switch of individual regions, oblasts, and cities to new conditions of economic management, self-financing, and economic accountability poses many problems and calls for effective and unorthodox approaches. In Zlatoust it has been decided that it is possible to bolster the city's economy and budget by means of a network of small enterprises, and steps are being taken to set up this network.

[Correspondent] The locally produced high-grade steel alloys gained a good reputation back in the last century both in Russia and abroad. The collectives of three of the city's largest firms—the metallurgical plant, the Zlatoust "Mashinostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association, and the Lenin Plant—have decided to revive the old traditions. Together with the city soviet executive committee, they have become founder-members of the "Instrument Zlatoust" [Zlatoust Tools] Association. Its main task is to start up production of goods made from metal as quickly as possible so as to increase the inflow of funds into the local budget. [video shows selection of small tools]

[B.S. Senatskiy, chairman of the "Instrument Zlatoust" Association] The basic structure will consist of mini-plants—small enterprises employing between 30 and 50, or at most 100 people. We will begin by starting up the production of this type of saws. [video shows saw blade] This is a saw for the timber-processing industry. We have studied the market and found out that only 40 percent of the demand for these saws is satisfied by our own production, the rest has to be bought abroad for foreign currency. In the longer term we are planning to produce medical equipment and metal cutting tools.

[Correspondent] The output from the new association's first plant will be dispatched to consumers as early as the first quarter of next year. [video shows staff working on a computer and other equipment] Profits of R1.5 million are expected during the first year. Since the plant will be municipal property, most of this money will be spent on the city's needs.

Buryat ASSR Adopts Stance on Sovereignty

LD0408134890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] A report from Ulan-Ude. The autonomous republic's press has published today a draft decision on the sovereignty of the Buryat ASSR. It was drawn up by a group of Supreme Soviet people's deputies in conjunction with staff members at the republic's scientific center. The draft stresses that the republic retains the right to free self-determination. Following an open discussion of the draft, the sovereignty declaration will be examined by the republican parliament. Once adopted it will serve as a foundation for drawing up a new constitution of the Buryat Autonomous Republic.

Oblast Soviet Orders Account of CPSU Property

PM0608090390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Viktor Kostyukovskiy report: "Oblast Committee Appeals to USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] Kemerovo—An oblast soviet session has decided to take an inventory of CPSU property in the oblast.

Until it has been completed, party organs will be forbidden from handling this property except by agreement with the soviet presidium.

This decision has undoubtedly been influenced by the feelings whipped up around NASHA GAZETA—the publication of the Union of Kuzbass Working People. When First Secretary A. Melnikov warned that the obkom [oblast party committee] would not allow "materials defaming the CPSU" to be printed at its publishing house, the council of workers' committees responded with a sharp statement, while some citizens responded by picketing the obkom building with numerous banners, including the following: "The 'Kuzbass' Publishing House Belongs To the People."

In reply the obkom bureau adopted a resolution which, noting the illegal and unconstitutional nature of the deputies' decision, instructed its administration of affairs to appeal to the USSR Prosecutor's Office to make a legal assessment of the session's decision.

Western Republics

Belorussian Deputies Ask Politburo for Aid

PM0608122390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by M. Shimanskiy under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Deputies Appeal"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has adopted an appeal to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

This is what the appeal says:

"We Belorussian SSR people's deputies—Communists and nonparty persons—submit to the supreme organ of party leadership a proposal that 500 million rubles be allocated from the CPSU party budget as of 1 August 1990 to give material assistance to Belorussia's population living in the radioactive contamination zone as a result of the accident at Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station]. The Chernobyl catastrophe was a national disaster for the Belorussian people. But it was not the republic's fault. The allocation of resources from party funds will demonstrate the CPSU's practical humanism to the whole Soviet people, will help Soviet people pull together at a difficult time, and will strengthen the people's faith in the party's ability to respond to the grief and pain of the peoples, nations, and nationalities of the USSR.

"The people's deputies of the republic expect and very much hope that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo will look upon this appeal sympathetically. After all, Belorussia found itself in an extremely grave situation as a result of the Chernobyl AES accident and it was forced to solve exceptionally complex problems. Vast material resources are required to eradicate the catastrophe's

aftermath. The republic is simply not in a position to combat this terrible calamity on its own."

Belorussian Decree on CPSU Platform, Rules
90UN2396A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 29 Jun 90 p 1

[Decree of the 20th Plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee "On Drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress and of the CPSU Rules and on the Results of the Belorussian Communist Party Discussion of Them"]

[Text] 1. To note that in the course of discussions in the republic's party organizations the drafts received a positive evaluation on the whole. The numerous comments and proposals which were expressed testify to the wish of many thousands of communists and nonparty people to enrich the pre-congress documents with timely and important provisions directed at rallying the CPSU ideologically and organizationally, fundamentally renewing it on the basis of democratization, and strengthening the role of the party's masses.

While expressing a critical attitude toward both the "Democratic" and "Marxist" Platforms, the communists of Belorussia believe that they also contain constructive proposals which can be taken into account in the final revision of the congress' political documents.

2. To take it into consideration that all the proposals, comments, and amendments introduced in the course of discussing the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and of the party rules were regularly summarized by the party committees and sent to the CPSU Central Committee according to established procedure, and many of them have already been taken into account by the commission for preparations for the 28th party congress.

3. To agree for the most part with the evaluations of the republic's sociopolitical situation as presented in the report of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. With regard to the results of the pre-congress discussions, the plenum believes that the basic provisions of the Belorussian Communist Party's position on implementing the communists' proposals can be formulated in summarized fashion as follows:

- to steadfastly and consistently defend socialist choice, communist outlook, and the ideas, modified by time, of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and to struggle for the consolidation of justice and the political freedoms which maintain proper conditions for life, labor, and the full development of the person;
- to defend the unity of the CPSU as the chief guarantor of the socialist nature of revolutionary transformations in the country. The Belorussian Communist Party, expressing the interests of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, and taking a socialist position, acts in accordance with the constitution and the laws

of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and advocates its own genuine independence;

—remaining loyal to internationalism as the basic principle of cooperation of the peoples of the USSR, the Belorussian Communist Party will consistently orient itself toward state sovereignty of Belorussia within a Soviet federation on the basis of a new Union treaty which provides real guarantees of the political, economic, social, and spiritual development of the republic, preservation and further development of its culture and language, and affirmation of the ethnic worth and originality of Belorussian and all other peoples living in the Belorussian SSR, and the Belorussian Communist Party will oppose any attempts to use the concept of the republic's independence for nationalist goals;

—supporting the transition to regulated market relations as the only alternative at the present stage in the development of its economy, the Belorussian Communist Party opposes premature decisions concerning the transition to a market and believes that this question should become the subject of general examination at the 28th CPSU Congress. The introduction of regulated market relations in the republic may only be implemented with reliable protection of the interests of the workers;

—to believe that the 28th CPSU Congress must: Declare its solidarity with communists of the East European countries in their hour of bitter attacks, persecutions, and violence perpetrated against them; offer an evaluation of anti-Leninist speeches and manifestations of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism and render practical help and material support to aid in the party work of the communists of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia loyal to the CPSU Platform.

4. The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum firmly supports the demand of the republic's Supreme Soviet addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet:

that the Belorussian zone affected as a result of the catastrophe at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant be declared a national disaster zone and that the republic receive full compensation for the damage through the adoption of an appropriate all-Union law. To charge the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, the oblast, city, and rayon party committees, communist leaders of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, ministries, departments, and soviets of people's deputies at all levels with critically examining the implementation of the state's program for 1990-1995 for eliminating the effects in the Belorussian SSR of the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, and to secure its execution within the time allotted.

5. The plenum requires that the Belorussian Communist Party Bureau, the oblast, city, and rayon party committees, and the primary party organizations examine all the critical comments expressed by communists in the

course of pre-congress discussions, implement the necessary measures for their realization, and energetically and purposefully carry out work to renew the republic's Communist Party on the basis of democratizing the entire life of the party and of granting real and substantial rights to the broad party masses.

The plenum calls upon all party organizations and all communists to define themselves clearly on all the main questions, rally their ranks, strengthen discipline and order, and direct their organizational and political efforts and their talent, energy, and knowledge toward solving the critical problems of the republic's socioeconomic and cultural development.

6. The Central Committee Plenum believes that the leadership of the party should present a personal example by organizing implementation of the adopted decisions and that it should teach this work to subordinate party organs and primary party organizations. The plenum supports the demand of many communists to include in the congress' agenda an individual question of the accounts of the members of the politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee concerning work after the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

7. The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum calls upon delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress elected by the republic's party organizations to concentrate on the search for constructive solutions to overcome the crisis in the party and in society, preserve the CPSU's unity, and actively carry out the position of the Belorussian Communist Party as it has been developed at this plenum.

Belorussian Sovereignty Declaration Published

90UN2536A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 31, 4-10 Aug 90 pp 1-2

[Declaration of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet "On the State Sovereignty of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,

expressing the will of the people of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic],

acknowledging responsibility for the destiny of the Belorussian nation,

confirming respect for the dignity and rights of people of all nationalities residing in the Belorussian SSR,

affirming respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples of the USSR and the world,

considering the republic a full-fledged and independent member of the world community,

acting in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other generally accepted international legal acts,

solemnly proclaims the full state sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR as the primacy, independence, and plenitude of state authority of the republic within the borders of its territory, the competence of its laws, and the independence of the republic in external relations, and declares its determination to create a rule-of-law state.

Article 1. The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is a sovereign state established on the basis of the Belorussian nation's exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination, the state status of the Belorussian language, and the supremacy of the people in determining their destiny.

The inalienable rights of the Belorussian SSR as a sovereign state are exercised in accordance with the generally recognized norms of international law. The Belorussian SSR guards and protects the national statehood of the Belorussian people.

The Belorussian SSR has its own state emblem, flag, and anthem.

Any acts of violence against the national statehood of the Belorussian SSR on the part of political parties, social organizations, or persons, will be prosecuted according to the law.

Article 2. Belorussian SSR citizens of all nationalities comprise the Belorussian people, who are the bearers of sovereignty and the single source of state power in the republic. Their sovereignty is exercised directly and through representative organs of state power.

The right to speak in the name of all the people of the republic belongs exclusively to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 3. The state sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR is affirmed in the name of the highest goal—the free development, well-being, and dignified life of each citizen of the republic on the basis of guaranteeing the rights of the individual in accordance with the constitution of the Belorussian SSR and its international obligations.

Article 4. Citizenship of the Belorussian SSR is an inalienable part of its sovereignty. The republic guards the honor, health, rights, and legal interests of its citizens and ensures their social protection. Its citizens fall under protection of the republic when they are outside the Belorussian SSR. The republic accepts individuals as citizens and decides matters of terminating citizenship.

Article 5. The land, its depths, and other natural resources on the territory of the Belorussian SSR, and the airspace above it, are the property of the Belorussian people, who have the exclusive rights to its ownership, use, and disposition.

Determination of legal policy concerning all types of property belongs exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Belorussian SSR.

The Belorussian SSR has the right to its share of all-Union property in accordance with the contribution of the Belorussian people and, as a founder-republic which was a legally competent entity of the Soviet Union, has the right to its share of the diamond and currency funds and the gold reserves of the USSR.

The Belorussian SSR forms the National Bank, subordinate to the republic Supreme Soviet, creates its own system of finance and credit, affirms rights of ownership of specialized banks located in its territory at the moment of adoption of this declaration, organizes its own taxation and customs services, and has the right to create its own monetary system.

Article 6. The territory of the Belorussian SSR is indivisible and inviolable, and cannot be altered or utilized without the consent of the Belorussian SSR.

All questions concerning borders are resolved only on the basis of mutual agreement between the Belorussian SSR and contiguous sovereign states through the conclusion of appropriate treaties, which are subject to ratification by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 7. Primacy of the constitution of the Belorussian SSR and laws of the Belorussian SSR is established on the territory of the Belorussian SSR. All citizens and persons without citizenship, state organs, enterprises, establishments, and organizations located or functioning on the territory of the Belorussian SSR are obliged to execute legislation of the Belorussian SSR.

Separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers is a most important principle of the existence of the Belorussian SSR as a rule-of-law state.

The highest oversight of accurate and uniform execution of the laws of the Belorussian SSR is exercised by the Belorussian SSR Procurator General, who is appointed by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 8. The Belorussian SSR independently establishes procedures for organizing on republic territory measures on environmental protection and the use of natural resources, and provides ecological safety for the people of the republic.

The Belorussian SSR has the right to compensation for loss or damage incurred through the actions of Union organs, Union republics, and other states.

The Belorussian SSR demands from the USSR Government urgent and unconditional compensation for the loss and damage incurred relating to overcoming the aftereffects of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

The Belorussian SSR will use its freedom and sovereignty first and foremost to save the people of the Belorussian SSR from the aftereffects of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

Article 9. The Belorussian SSR is independent in deciding questions of the cultural and spiritual development of the Belorussian nation and other ethnic communities of the republic, and in establishing its own system of information, education, and upbringing.

The Belorussian SSR ensures the functioning of the Belorussian language in all spheres of social life, and the preservation of ethnic traditions and historical symbology.

National, cultural, and historical valuables on the territory of the Belorussian SSR constitute the exclusive property of the republic and its citizens.

Article 10. The Belorussian SSR has the right to its own armed forces, internal troops, and organs of state and public security, under the control of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Belorussian SSR has the sovereign right to determine the procedure and terms for the conduct of military service on the part of its citizens and service in the organs of state and public security, to decide matters of stationing troops and arms on its territory.

No military formations of any kind of other countries, their military bases or installations, may be stationed on the territory of the Belorussian SSR without the consent of its Supreme Soviet.

The Belorussian SSR sets the aim of making its territory a non-nuclear zone, and the republic—a neutral state.

Article 11. The Belorussian SSR independently exercises the right of voluntary alliances with other states and free exit from these alliances.

The Belorussian SSR proposes that work be begun on an urgent basis to draw up the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign Socialist States.

Article 12. The provisions of this Declaration are implemented by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet through adoption of a new Constitution (Basic Law) of the Belorussian SSR and laws of the Belorussian SSR.

[Dated]27 July 1990, Minsk

Law on Implementation of Belorussian Laws

90UN2529A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 10 Jul 90 p 3

[Law of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic "On Procedure for Publication and Implementation of Laws of the Belorussian SSR and Other Acts Adopted by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet and Its Organs"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic resolves:

Article 1. Laws of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and other acts adopted by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet are published by the Presidium of the

Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR [Record of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet], issued separately in the Belorussian and Russian languages not later than 10 days following their adoption, as well as in the newspapers SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, ZVYAZDA, and SELSKAYA GAZETA.

Also published in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR are acts adopted by the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Belorussian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

Article 2. Publication of laws of the Belorussian SSR and other acts mentioned in Article 1 of this law in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR and the newspapers SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, ZVYAZDA, and SELSKAYA GAZETA constitutes official publication.

Acts of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet and its organs may be published in other press organs as well. They may be broadcast over television or radio, transmitted over communications lines, and dispatched to appropriate state and social organizations and responsible officials.

Article 3. Laws of the Belorussian SSR and other acts of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet of a normative nature become effective over the entire territory of the Belorussian SSR simultaneously, 10 days following their official publication. In the event such acts are originally published in the newspapers SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, ZVYAZDA, and SELSKAYA GAZETA, this is indicated in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR.

The time criterion indicated in this article for acts becoming effective does not apply in instances where the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet establishes a different criterion for an act's entry into force.

Article 4. Resolutions of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, ukases and resolutions of the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, and directives of the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet of a normative nature become effective from the moment of their adoption unless a different time of entry into force is specified. These are published in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR.

Along with publication, the presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet may determine other procedures for informing enterprises, establishments, organizations, and individuals of acts which are applicable to them.

Article 5. Also published in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR are international treaties which enter into force for the Belorussian SSR, as well as supplements, amendments,

protocols, and appendices to them, concluded in the name of the Belorussian SSR and ratified by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

International treaties of the Belorussian SSR, supplements, amendments, protocols, and appendices to them, authentic texts of which are constituted in foreign languages, are published in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR in one of these languages, and in Belorussian and Russian.

Article 6. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR is published at least three times monthly and consists of two sections.

The first section includes:

laws of the Belorussian SSR and other acts of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet;

ukases and resolutions of the presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet;

directives of the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet;

international treaties of the Belorussian SSR, and supplements, amendments, protocols, and appendices to them.

The second section includes:

acts of the Belorussian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, information on the activity of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, the presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, permanent and temporary commissions of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Commission on Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies, and other issues.

Article 7. Acts published in VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR are placed in articles with appropriate sequence numbers. Appendices to these acts are placed in the same articles as the acts themselves.

Article 8. Publication of VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA BELORUSSKOY SSR in accordance with this law is supported by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 9. In connection with the adoption of this law, the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers will present to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet proposals on amending existing Belorussian SSR legislation.

Article 10. Legislative acts of the Belorussian SSR will be recognized as no longer in force, in accordance with the appendix.

Article 11. This law will enter into force from the moment of its adoption.

[Signed] N. Dementey, Chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet

[Dated] 3 July 1990, Minsk

Destruction of Harvest Near Chernobyl Urged

LD0308232890 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian
1700 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Remarks by Deputy Boris Savitskiy at the 24 July Belorussian Supreme Soviet session in Minsk—recorded]

[Text] Several days ago the standing commission for ecology distributed among all deputies an appeal which notified that this year in the areas with an irradiation of over 40 curies/square kilometers, sowing of crops was carried out. The appeal suggested that the harvest on these territories should be destroyed, thus preventing its spreading among the population. To a great regret, our mechanism, just like any other here, is moving too slow, while times does not wait.

Today, we received first reports from Bragin, Narovlya, and other rayons that the harvest of crops with an irradiation of not more than 40 curies/sq.km. is in full swing. In this place we insist once again on the need of destroying all harvest obtained in these conditions and punishing of all those guilty.

Here is my concrete proposal: Let us organize immediately a deputy group of four or five persons and send them to inspect these rayons with the following terms of reference. They must establish where, what and how much was sowed and now being harvested in the areas with an irradiation of over 40 curies/sq.km.

Comrades, let us descend upon the sinful soil from on high. Here we are talking on laws and so on. But what about this lawlessness? Is it not for us to stop it? It was at the previous session that a law was passed forbidding cultivation of crops in those areas.

New Belorussian Publication To Appear

LD0608155790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] A new Belorussian Supreme Soviet publication is soon to appear, entitled NARODNAYA GAZETA. Not for nothing does it bear this title: the editorial collegium of the newspaper intends to make it interesting for absolutely all strata of the population, regardless of age, profession, and other anomalies.

Army Political Chief Tours Military District

PM0608084790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "Meetings in Belorussia"]

[Text] Colonel General N.I. Shlyaga, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army

and Navy Main Political Directorate, recently visited a number of units and formations in the Belorussian Military District. Topical problems of perestroika in the country and the Armed Forces, and the further enhancement of party organizations' role and prestige in the light of the 28th CPSU Congress decisions were discussed in talks with the district's command and political leadership, party aktiv, and subunit and unit personnel.

During the meetings Colonel General N.I. Shlyaga answered numerous questions from officers, warrant officers, and military academy students.

Discussions were also held with local party and Soviet workers.

Polish Union Formed in Belorussia 16 Jun

90UN2306A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 17 Jun 90 p 3

[Report by BELTA correspondent K. Bolotevich: "Union of Poles of Belorussia"]

[Text] Grodno—Such is the name of the new sociopolitical organization established in Grodno on Saturday 16 June at the constituent congress of Poles of Belorussia. The organization unites Polish cultural enlightenment societies previously formed in various regions of the republic and sets as its aim the development of Poles' social activity, satisfaction of their spiritual needs, propagation of their culture, and assistance to all who desire it in studying the language, history, and traditions of these people.

"In establishing this union we have acquired greater rights in all spheres of our activity," stated military serviceman Tadeusz Gavin, head of the commission on preparation for the congress and governing body chairman of the Grodno Oblast Polish Cultural Enlightenment Society imeni Adam Mickiewicz, to our BELTA correspondent. "Now it will be simpler to establish ties with Poland and other countries, for the new organization is incorporated in the structure of other social formations of the republic. We can, for example, within the framework of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution and the laws in effect in its territory, nominate candidates to the post of people's deputy for all levels of soviets, publish our own press organ, and establish educational institutions. Previously, when our societies existed under culture foundations, their opportunities were limited."

Delegates to the congress, representing more than 400,000 Poles residing in Belorussia, ratified the program and rules of the new union and elected its leading organs. Present at the congress were delegations from Moscow, Kiev, and also the Republic of Poland, headed by Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, Marshal of the Sejm.

Taking part in the work of the congress were S.S. Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian

SSR Supreme Soviet (who addressed the body), D.K. Artsimenya, chairman of the Grodno Oblast Executive Committee, and T. Myslyk, consul general of the Republic of Poland in Minsk.

Ukrainian Resolution on Sovereignty Carried

90UN2461A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
28 Jun 90 p 2

[Resolution of the 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party "On State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The congress, expressing the will of the republic's communists, unequivocally declares for the proclamation and affirmation of the state sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. It considers it to be a decisive and necessary precondition for the full-fledged political, economic, social, and spiritual development of the Soviet Ukraine on socialist principles, an all-round guarantee of the rights and freedoms of its citizens, improvement in their well-being and the creation of living conditions worthy of the individual, and the renewal, preservation, and flowering of the culture and language, distinctiveness, and national dignity of the Ukrainian people and all national groups that live in the republic.

The congress regards a sovereign Ukrainian state as:

- the supreme authority of the people of the Ukraine, the leadership, independence, absolute and indivisible authority on its own territory, the right independently to resolve questions of the political, economic, and cultural life of the republic, and to determine the forms and structure of the organs of state authority and administration, and symbols;
- the right to independent exercise on the entire territory of legislative, executive, and judicial authority; the priority of republic laws; the discontinuance of Union laws and decrees of organs of state authority that contradict republic laws or that are outside the scope of powers delegated to the Union by treaty;
- the exclusive ownership by the people of the Ukraine of the land, mineral wealth, mineral-raw material resources, forests, internal and territorial waters, and other natural resources, the basic means of production, and also the financial-credit institutions with their applicable budget, credit, currency, and other resources that are being formed on the territory of the republic, and the right to its own share of all-Union wealth created by the work efforts of the people of the Ukraine;
- the integrity of the territory of the republic and the inviolability of its borders, the inadmissibility not only to change but also to use of the territory of the republic without its concurrence;
- the establishment of an institute of citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR;

—the right of the people of the Ukraine to a renewal and preservation of its national-cultural distinctiveness, language, historical memory, and natural environment;

—the formation of the Ukraine as a real entity in international relations, the right to enter into direct economic and trade relations with foreign states, and to exchange diplomatic and consular representations with them;

—the right to association with other states and determination of its own constitutional-legal status in these associations and free withdrawal from them.

The congress absolutely condemns any attempts to use the process of affirming the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR for narrow nationalistic and separatist purposes, and for stirring up national enmity and egoism.

The congress considers the active participation of the Ukrainian Communist Party in the establishment of a renewing Union of free and equal sovereign states, united on the basis of common aims and interests, to be a matter of enormous importance. It must be built on a new Union treaty which defines the limits of authority delegated by the republics to the all-Union level, and on principles of voluntariness and genuine equality of nations which preserve the right to self-determination, including separation as well.

The congress charges the communists-people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR to accelerate the adoption by the Ukrainian SSR of the "Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," and to take an active part in the development of a new Union treaty.

Ukrainian Declaration of Sovereignty Published

90UN2461B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
17 Jul 90 p 1

[Declaration "Of the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine Adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on 16 July 1990"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet,

expressing the will of the people of the Ukraine,

striving to establish a democratic society,

proceeding from the needs of a comprehensive guarantee of the rights and freedoms of the individual,

respecting the national rights of all peoples,

caring for the valuable political, economic, social, and spiritual development of the people of the Ukraine,

recognizing the need to build a rule-of-law state,

having the aim of asserting the sovereignty and self-government of the people of the Ukraine,

PROCLAIM

the state sovereignty of the Ukraine as the supreme, independent, absolute, and indivisible authority of the republic within the borders of its territory and independent and equal in all foreign relations.

I. Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation

The Ukrainian SSR as a sovereign national state is developing within existing borders on the basis of the exercise by the Ukrainian nation of its inalienable right to self-determination.

The Ukrainian SSR is implementing the defense and protection of the national statehood of the Ukrainian people.

Any forcible actions against the national statehood of the Ukraine on the part of political parties, social organizations, and other groups or individual persons will be prosecuted by law.

II. Democracy

Citizens of the republic of all nationalities constitute the people of the Ukraine.

The people of the Ukraine are the sole source of state authority in the republic.

The sovereignty of the people of the Ukraine is implemented on the basis of the Constitution of the republic both directly and through people's deputies elected to the Supreme and local Soviets of the Ukrainian SSR.

Only the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet can speak on behalf of all of the people. No political party, social organization, other group, or individual person can speak on behalf of all of the people of the Ukraine.

III. State Authority

The Ukrainian SSR is independent in the resolution of any questions of its own state life.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the republic on its own territory.

State authority in the republic is exercised according to the principle of its division into legislative, executive, and judicial authority.

Higher oversight over the exact and uniform discharge of laws is executed by the Procurator General of the Ukrainian SSR, who is appointed by Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and who is responsible to it and accountable only to it.

IV. Citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR

The Ukrainian SSR has its own citizenship and guarantees each citizen the right to maintain USSR citizenship.

The Law of the Ukrainian SSR on Citizenship defines the grounds for acquiring or losing Ukrainian SSR citizenship.

All citizens of the Ukrainian SSR are guaranteed the rights and freedoms that are stipulated by the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and norms of international law recognized by the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees equality before the law for all citizens of the Republic regardless of origin, social and property status, race and national affiliation, sex, education, language, political views, religious convictions, type and nature of occupation, place of residence, and other conditions.

The Ukrainian SSR regulates immigration processes.

The Ukrainian SSR shows concern for and undertakes measures to protect and defend the interests of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who are outside the borders of the Republic.

V. Territorial Supremacy

The Ukrainian SSR exercises supremacy on all of its territory.

The territory of the Ukrainian SSR in the existing borders is inviolable and cannot be changed and used without its concurrence.

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines the administrative-territorial structure of the republic and the procedure for the organization of national-administrative units.

VI. Economic Independence

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines its own economic status and secures it in laws.

The people of the Ukraine have exclusive right to the possession, use, and disposition of the national wealth of the Ukraine.

The land, its mineral resources, air space, water and other natural resources within the borders of the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, natural resources on the continental shelf and the exceptional (maritime) economic zone, and the entire economic and scientific-technical potential, created on the territory of the Ukraine, are the property of its people, the material basis of the sovereignty of the republic, and are used for the purpose of providing for the material and spiritual needs of its citizens.

The Ukrainian SSR has a right to its share of all-Union wealth, in particular of the all-Union diamond and currency funds and the gold reserves which were created owing to the efforts of the people of the republic.

The resolution of questions of all-Union property (the common property of all of the republics) is carried out on a treaty basis between the republics-subjects of this property.

Enterprises, institutions, organizations, and facilities of other states and their citizens, and of international organizations, can locate themselves on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and use the natural resources of the Ukraine in accordance with the laws of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR independently establishes banking (including a foreign economic bank), pricing, financial, customs, and tax systems, it draws up the state budget, and, if necessary, it introduces its own monetary unit.

The highest credit institution of the Ukrainian SSR is the national Bank of the Ukraine, which is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Enterprises, institutions, organizations, and production units situated on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, make payment for the use of land and other natural and labor resources, and deductions from currency receipts, and also pay taxes to local budgets.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the protection of all forms of property.

VII. Ecological Safety

The Ukrainian SSR independently arranges the organizational procedure for environmental protection on the territory of the republic and the procedure for utilizing natural resources.

The Ukrainian SSR has its own national commission on radiation protection of the population.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to prohibit the construction and to halt the functioning of any enterprises, institutions, organizations, and other facilities that threaten ecological safety.

The Ukrainian SSR will look after the ecological safety of citizens, the gene pool of the people, and its young generation.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to compensation for damages caused to the ecology of the Ukraine through the actions of Union organs.

VIII. Cultural Development

The Ukrainian SSR is independent in the resolution of questions of science, education, and the cultural and spiritual development of the Ukrainian nation, and it guarantees all nationalities living on the territory of the republic a right to their free national-cultural development.

The Ukrainian SSR ensures the national-cultural renewal of the Ukrainian people, its historical consciousness and tradition, national-ethnographic features, and the functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social life.

The Ukrainian SSR displays concern for the satisfaction of the national-cultural, spiritual, and linguistic needs of Ukrainians living beyond the borders of the republic.

Objects of national, cultural, and historical value on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR are the exclusive property of the people of the republic.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to a return of national, cultural, and historical valuables located outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR to the property of the people of the Ukraine.

IX. External and Internal Security

The Ukrainian SSR has a right to its own Armed Forces.

The Ukrainian SSR has its own internal troops and organs of state security, which are subordinate to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Ukrainian SSR determines the procedures for the performance of military service by citizens of the republic.

Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR perform active military service on the territory of the republic, and they cannot be employed for military purposes beyond its borders without the concurrence of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Ukrainian SSR solemnly proclaims its own intention of becoming a constantly neutral state that does not take part in military blocs and that adheres to three non-nuclear principles: not to employ, not to produce, and not to acquire nuclear weapons.

X. International Relations

As a subject of international law, the Ukrainian SSR conducts direct relations with other states, concludes treaties with them, exchanges diplomatic, consular, and trade representations, participates in the activity of international organizations to the extent necessary to an effective guarantee of the national interests of the republic in political, economic, ecological, informational, scientific, technical, cultural, and sports spheres.

The Ukrainian SSR speaks as an equal participant in international contacts, actively promotes the strengthening of general peace and international security, and participates directly in the all-European process and European structures.

The Ukrainian SSR recognizes the advantages of values that are common to all mankind over class values, and the priority of universally recognized norms of international law over norms of internal state law.

The relations of the Ukrainian SSR with other Soviet republics are built on the basis of treaties concluded on principles of equal rights, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs.

The declaration is the basis for a new Constitution and laws of the Ukraine, and it defines the position of the republic in the conclusion of international agreements. The principles of the Declaration of the Sovereignty of the Ukraine are used for concluding a Union treaty

'Confrontation' Over Supreme Soviet Commissions

PM0608110190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov under the general heading "At Supreme Soviet Sessions"]

[Text] Kiev, 3 Aug—Yesterday was perhaps the most difficult day in the two-and-a-half months of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session's work. Both for the person chairing and for the delegates. The day before, a law on the republic's economic autonomy passed its first reading and, after the evening sitting, a provisional list was determined of members of commissions on the preparation of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution, on interrepublic ties, and on the Union treaty. The bulk of the work seemed to be over.

But the beginning of the morning sitting showed how difficult it is to reach a common decision. Confrontation arose because of diametrically opposed views on the proposed composition of the commissions. Representatives of the opposition stated in categorical and unacceptable tones that the list had been drawn up virtually in the Central Committee on an ex-officio basis. Passions grew more heated with every speech. L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, was forced to reprimand the People's Rada. But this did not help. Not relying upon verbal argument, A. Gudyma, a lecturer at the Lutskiy teachers training college, used what the chairman described as physical force on an opponent. Finding himself at the rostrum to give an explanation, Gudyma tried awkwardly to justify himself. But taking the floor after him, Deputy A. Yagofarov, director of Voroshilovgrad's Parkhomenko Machine Building Plant, whom Gudyma strove to influence by means of gestures, described it as a provocation. Only then did passions subside.

Thus, after passing 150 acts of legislation, the session has completed its work.

Military Commissariat Facing 'Fresh Problems'

PM0608102390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 2 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy under the "Direct Line" rubric: "There Are Still Problems"]

[Text] Ivano-Frankovsk—The Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast Military Commissariat personnel did not, so to speak, have time to take a breather after the rallies, pickets, and spring draft campaign before they were beset by fresh problems. The fathers, mothers, and relatives of soldiers serving outside the republic are demanding that they return to the Ukraine.

The reason for this is the relevant section of the recently adopted Declaration on Ukrainian State Sovereignty.

"Military Commissariat personnel carried out a great deal of work on the eve of the spring draft," Colonel A. Zakharchuk, oblast military commissar, said, "We therefore succeeded in neutralizing the statements by certain young people, inciting draftees to take a rash step. The young men did not follow them. The draft plan was fulfilled. Admittedly, we had hoped to get more effective aid in our work from the local authorities. That did happen. But not in all areas. Although the draft is our common task. The political situation in the oblast has once again heated up now. This was brought about by the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet's adoption of the Declaration on Ukrainian State Sovereignty. Just today I received a letter from an oblast soviet people's deputy demanding that the guys who have been sent to serve outside the Ukraine be brought back."

There is no doubt that life is demanding immediate answers to many questions. To this question, for instance. The question of creating national armed forces has long been hyped up in western areas of the Ukraine. This right has now been enshrined in the declaration. How are we to treat it? Especially now, following the publication of the USSR president's decree on banning the creation of armed formations for which the country's legislation makes no provision. Take another phrase from the declaration: "The Ukrainian SSR determines the procedure for the performance of military service by the republic's citizens." How are we to understand this? As is well known, at present this procedure is regulated by articles of the Law on Compulsory Military Service. Consequently, the republic will elaborate its own document. Who will elaborate it and when? By what document are we now guided? Who bears responsibility, and what kind of responsibility, if this document is violated?

Let us be blunt and say that Military Commissariat personnel have ended up in a difficult position following the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet's adoption of the Declaration of Ukrainian State Sovereignty....

'Pressure' Produced Kiev National Flag Decision

PM0608115190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

["Discussion Page No. 55" report by M. Odinets under the rubric "About an Event": "Still No Decision"]

[Text] Kiev—Another flag, blue and yellow, has appeared on one of the flagpoles outside the Kiev Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] building beside the state flag of the Ukraine. It was allegedly hoisted by decision of the Kiev City Soviet. And certain mass media hastened to report this. But it has turned out that such a decision does not exist. This is how things stood.

A week ago the Kiev City Soviet Presidium examined the question "On Ukrainian National Symbols and Their Use in Kiev." It was said that the blue and yellow flag, the trident, and the anthem "The Ukraine Is Not Dead Yet" ["Shche ne Vmerla Ukraina"] must be used as national symbols on the city's territory in addition to the state flag, emblem, and anthem of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] approved by the present Constitution. It was planned to adopt the final decision later.

In this connection, having unequivocally advocated the soviets' full rights and the revival of the Ukrainian people's national dignity, the Kiev Gorkom [City Party Committee] Bureau considered, in the name of the city's communists, that the question of national symbols must be decided openly and at state level. From the legal viewpoint it is outside the competence of the Kiev City Soviet Presidium.

Supporting the aspirations of the city soviet's deputies with regard to accelerating the resolution of national problems, the Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom Bureau emphasized that excessive haste in introducing symbols in the city can lead only to increased tension and people's demarcation and create instability in the sociopolitical life of Kiev. It was also pointed out that under the present Ukrainian SSR Constitution this question falls exclusively within the competence of the republic's supreme organ of state power alone—the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

At a session of the city soviet presidium, some of the speakers demanded that a decision on the blue and yellow flag be adopted without delay. The fact that Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol, Rovno, Volyn, and Zhitomir Oblasts have adopted a decision to use national symbols was cited as the chief argument. Incidentally, the people who had gathered for a noisy rally outside the entrance to the gorispolkom at that time included many guests from precisely those places. Other deputies objected categorically to haste.

But vehicles with license plates from western oblasts were already dashing along the street, announcing the consecration of the blue and yellow flag in St. Sophia's Cathedral in the evening and its hoisting in front of the gorispolkom at 1900 hours. Pressure from the rally participants outside the walls of the city hall was having an increasingly strong effect, and then M. Grabar, chairman of the Soviet Permanent Commission to Combat Organized Crime, proposed to grant permission

in protocol form to raise the flag but to adopt the decision on this at an extraordinary session.

It was not the democratic path or the principles of a rule-of-law state that triumphed, but strong-arm pressure. True, the next day, during a session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, when one of the deputies aspiring to a government post was asked about his attitude toward the blue and yellow flag outside Kiev Gorispolkom, he replied categorically:

"A decision on this question has not yet been adopted. And, obviously, it should be adopted after a referendum among all the people."

Well, as is known, it is easier to censure the past than to correct it. But it is a pity that some people do not benefit from the lessons of the past. And now they want to assert new usages not through consent and the law but with a high hand, despite all regulations. And, having done their thing, they try at once to find guilty parties.

In this case it is Kiev Gorkom, which is trying, according to their version, to compromise the new city soviet and its presidium. This really is a case of laying the blame on someone else.

Ukrainian Republican Party Branch Formed in Lvov

90UN2306B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 6 Jul 90 p 1

[Report by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent S. Romanyuk: "Weekly Chronicle—Lvov"]

[Text] An event of last week was the publication of the first issue of the newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAINU [For A Free Ukraine]. In its lead article, editor Vasil Baziv acquainted readers with "the history of the matter." It was not easy for the oblast soviet to win the right to have its own press organ—to obtain permission it was necessary to go to Moscow, to the CPSU Central Committee. True, this was prior to adoption of the Law on the Press.

What kind of publication will "the first soviet-operated newspaper in the Ukraine" be? V. Baziv states: "ZA VILNU UKRAINU is a nonparty publication. Its views are not provincial, but nationwide.... Its only judge is the people. Its only aim—truth, from which it vows not to retreat."

A constituent conference took place of the Lvov Oblast Organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party—this is what the majority of members of the former Ukrainian Helsinki Union are presently calling themselves.

Incidentally, the principle of centralism was affirmed to be a priority in the activity of the Ukrainian Republican Party. Here they did not even consider alternative program documents. The conference ratified the aim of the Republicans—building a free, united Ukraine outside the USSR framework.

The Lvov organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party numbers about 600 individuals. Its nucleus is comprised of representatives of the working class.

The views of certain leaders of the Independent Ukrainian Youth Union, formed just earlier into an all-Ukrainian organization, are curious. But you can judge for yourself—Oleg Vitovich, co-chairman of the youth union and oblast soviet deputy, states:

"We need a change of reference points today. No longer can we be satisfied by the slogan 'Ukrainian Independent United Power'.... We dream of a superstate. We dream of a supernation. We dream of a state which will be able to dictate its terms to the entire world. We dream of a Ukrainian nation that would stand half a head, three heads, ten heads higher than any other nation.

"We understand that it will not be easy for us—for in front of us stands an enemy more than 1500 years old. The enemy, whose name is Moscow....

"And we tell ourselves—do not get too carried away by democracy. Do not become keen on parliamentary forms of struggle.... Tomorrow new regiments and battalions of members of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists will rise and lead the nation to victory. Even if this victory is paid for in blood.

"The nation is above all! The Ukraine is above all!"

Oleg Vitovich gave this speech, reproduced here without any alteration in meaning, at a rally 30 June dedicated to the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of an independent Ukrainian state by Ukrainian nationalists. It seems to me additional commentary would be superfluous....

The decision of the oblast soviet on land reform has elicited a broad response. Now local organs of authority can transfer up to 10 hectares of arable land to peasants free of charge. The path is now open to farms proper. One small thing is lacking—providing the farmer with equipment, fertilizers, and assistance in setting him up with original capital.

The collective farms are giving in. It is presumed that the unprofitable and low-profit farm enterprises will be the first to be disbanded. Those that are able to prove their viability under competitive conditions will remain socialist enterprises.

Moldavian Social Democrats Refused Registration

LD0708091890 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT
7 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev August 7 TASS—The Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet has refused to register the Moldavian Social Democratic Party, members of the party's Coordination Council told a news conference here on Monday.

As required by the regulations, the Social Democrats submitted to the republic's government their provisional rules and programme four weeks ago, only to receive a refusal. It was motivated by the fact that the republic has no law on political parties and that only public movements are allowed to register.

The Coordination Committee of the Social Democratic Party issued a statement saying that to deny the party recognition shows the striving of the dominant political forces in the republic to retain their monopoly in the socio-political sphere. This runs counter to the letter and spirit of the decisions adopted by the first session of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet.

Shenin Attends Plenum, Tours Moldavian Areas

PM0608151190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "On Moldovan Territory"]

[Text] Kishinev, 4 Aug—A joint Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee and Auditing Commission plenum was held here today. A group of 28th CPSU Congress delegates; representatives of city and rayon party organization auditing commissions; a number of primary party organization secretaries; leaders of ministries, departments, enterprises, and the mass media; and representatives of some of the republic's public organizations were invited to it.

P.K. Luchinskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report "On the Results of the 28th CPSU Congress." A resolution was adopted on the question under discussion. It pointed out, in particular, that the congress' final documents, above all the Program Statement "Toward Humane, Democratic Socialism" and the CPSU statutes, open up new horizons as regards restructuring society and reforming the party in line with the spirit and aims of perestroika.

The plenum ratified the clause on Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee commissions and the composition of the commission preparing the Moldovan Communist Party program and statutes.

M.I. Snegur delivered a statement to the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee, asking for his CPSU membership to be suspended while he is performing his duties as chairman of the Moldovan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. The plenum granted his request.

O.S. Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

During his three-day stay on Moldovan soil, O.S. Shenin visited a number of areas in the republic. Whomever the CPSU Central Committee secretary met—communists,

peasants, workers—the following question was of paramount concern to people everywhere: When is the situation in the country finally going to stabilize, when will there be an improvement? People have not stopped believing in the party, its strength, and its ability to complete perestroika. But, as O.S. Shenin rightly pointed out during a conversation with horticulturists in Grigoriopolskiy Rayon, the party is not omnipotent and cannot be held accountable for the unresolved problems that now come under the jurisdiction of local soviets or the republic's Supreme Soviet and government.

"All our difficulties," he said during a meeting with viticulturists from the "Romenesht" Sovkhoz [state farm] plant, "are connected in one way or another with the complex socioeconomic situation in the country. It is to be extricated from the ever-deepening crisis with the help of market relations. The CPSU sees as one of its main tasks the need to make provision for people's social protection in the program for transition to the market, which is being elaborated."

The clause in the recent Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet decree on state power about winding up primary party organizations at enterprises, organizations, and establishments aroused great concern among the republic's communists. Doesn't this mean winding up the party itself?

In the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee secretary, party organizations' activity at enterprises can be banned, but no one can ban people with certain views and convictions from resolving their party's problems out of work time—that is their right.

Moldavian Measures To Defuse Tension Viewed

PM0608145190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent E. Kondratov: "Will a Moratorium Help?"]

[Text] Kishinev—The chief issue at a Moldovan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium session was the elaboration of measures capable of defusing the sociopolitical situation in the republic, which remains tense.

The events of recent months have shown that it might be dangerously explosive too. This is evidenced by the recent mass disturbances outside the buildings of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet and Communist Party Central Committee, which resulted in clashes between hundreds of city residents and the militia. However, this was mentioned somehow in passing at the presidium session. The discussion was chiefly about separatist trends in the Pridnestrovye [region to the northeast of the Dnestr], where, as stated in the resolution adopted by the presidium, "the constructive actions of the republic's present leadership are being countered by conservative forces hiding behind slogans about struggle for the people's interests."

What specifically did it mean? The persistent opposition by inhabitants of the rayons and cities on the left bank of the Dnestr, which until 1940 were part of the Moldavian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], as well as the majority of residents of the city of Bendery, to the implementation of a number of new Moldovan SSR laws. The tricolor, despite formidable laws on liability for a disrespectful attitude to it, has not been acknowledged as the state flag there. The law on the functioning of languages essentially does not operate either. The decree on the transfer from Moscow time to local time was also rejected. The Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has repeatedly declared illegal the decisions in this regard by the local soviet sessions of Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa, and Rybnitskiy Rayon, as well as the results of referendums held there, hinging on the ascertainment of the inhabitants' attitude toward the possibility of Dnestr autonomy (an absolute majority was in favor).

Despite the ban, referendums are being held and are planned in other population centers. Gatherings of inhabitants of Kamenskiy Rayon have asked the USSR, Ukrainian SSR, and Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviets to reinstate the prewar Moldavian ASSR. The left bank protests sharply at "the policy of the Romanianization of Moldavia being implemented by the republic's leadership," and a particularly stormy reaction has been aroused here by the decisions of the People's Front congress which proposed taking out of use the words "Moldavian people" and "Moldavian language" and replacing them with "Romanian." Other serious actions include the organizational congress of left-bank deputies who decided to form an independent economic region and the recently advanced idea of creating an association of cities in a free economic zone.

The Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium, which discussed these phenomena in the absence of representatives of the Pridnestrovye, stated that they "are essentially of a political, provocative nature with the ultimate purpose of setting the interests of the population of the Pridnestrovye against those of the republic's whole people and deepening sociopolitical instability, suspicion, and mutual mistrust."

The situation in the southern steppes of Moldova is no less tense now. The decision of the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet session which rejected the Gagauz claims to autonomy and, moreover, categorized this nationality [narodnost] as an "ethnic group" ["etnicheskaya gruppa"], provoked an explosion of indignation in southern rayons. Rallies in Chadyr-Lunga and Komrat, appeals not to give up weapons, contrary to the USSR presidential decree, the hoisting on the city soviet of the national flag of the Gagauz ASSR, whose creation was announced last fall by a congress of representatives of the Gagauz people, the preparations to elect the autonomous republic's supreme authority—these are the grave realities of the present day.

Against a background of grave disorder in the economy and the social sphere, falling volumes of agricultural production, reduction in livestock numbers, very acute housing shortage, and, moreover, growing numbers of particularly dangerous crimes, interethnic friction is today posing a danger to the life of the entire republic. This was noted with alarm by members of the presidium.

In what way does the supreme organ of republican authority intend to defuse such an inflamed atmosphere? If we omit the more or less general points in the adopted resolution, urging local soviets to exercise their power in full and to carry out explanatory work among the population, we can probably reduce the specifics to two points. First, it has been decided to officially ban all rallies, marches, demonstrations, referendums, and other measures which might have a deleterious effect on the sociopolitical situation in all population centers and at enterprises and establishments until the end of 1990. Thus, these may now include even actions sanctioned by the local authorities.

And, second, if something similar does happen somewhere, then, as the presidium members unanimously resolved, the proceedings prescribed by law must be instituted without delay against the initiators and organizers of a rally, gathering, or referendum which sows discord. So, to all appearances, this will primarily concern not only public leaders but also leaders of local soviets organizing or blessing such measures.

The Moldovan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, KGB, Prosecutor's Office, Supreme Court, and Ministry of Justice have been entrusted with the duty of most strictly ensuring that officials and citizens observe the republic's laws. It was not specified in what forms this must be implemented.

The Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appealed to soviet deputies at all levels, sociopolitical movements, labor collectives, and citizens to refrain from political and interethnic confrontation, to be more restrained in public speeches, and to be more prudent and circumspect in decisionmaking.

Caucasus

Transcaucasus 'Collective Security System' Urged

LD0608223190 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2051 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent has reported that the leaders of the social democratic movement of Azerbaijan have proposed that a collective security system be organized in Transcaucasia and that a demilitarized zone be created there.

Armenia Prepared To Negotiate With Gorbachev

LD0608150490 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT
6 Aug 90

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent Ashot Gareginyan]

[Text] Yerevan is capable of achieving a political settlement, if there is no outside interference," newly-elected President of the Armenian parliament Levon Ter-Petrosyan, told the legislature today.

Ter-Petyrosyan, 45, was elected to the post on Saturday, and is a member of the Karabakh Committee and the leader of the Armenian National Movement, the second largest officially-registered organisation.

According to the Armenian Interior Ministry, there are several armed groups in the republic. The largest is the Armenian National Army, uniting some 5,000 members.

Ter-Petrosyan's election has led to a marked stabilisation of the situation, according to lawmakers.

Several armed groups announced that they were prepared to take orders from the Armenian parliament.

The election of the Armenian president led to the disbandment of a commission set up to implement President Gorbachev's July 25 decree against illegal armed groups and illegal arms.

The Armenian parliament said it is prepared to negotiate on the issue with President Mikhail Gorbachev.

New Armenian Leader Stresses Stability

LD0608203690 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Armenian parliament has been working for exactly two weeks, and it was only today that the session was conducted for the first time by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the new chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet. As is known, he was elected to this post last Saturday after two days of stormy debates. As promised in the pre-election program, the chairman opened the morning session with the report that he will henceforth relinquish the office of leader of the Armenian national movement.

[Begin Ter-Petrosyan recording] Our one problem today is to stabilize the situation in the republic. I am confident that, with the support—I can speak with confidence—of the whole Armenian people, we shall be able, by our own efforts, to settle all domestic problems and to stabilize the situation, on the one condition that there should be no external interference. I already intend to enter into talks with Moscow and to ask for restraint. [end recording]

Late in the evening, by secret ballot, deputies Ararktsyan and Arutyunyan were elected deputy chairmen of the Armenian Republican Supreme Soviet. The session continues its work tomorrow. [video shows deputies in session and Ter-Petrosyan interview]

Election of New Supreme Soviet Chairman Viewed
NC0608133490 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1800 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] Today, our people are living through a historic period. The elections for the chairmanship of the Armenian parliament were also historic. The head of our administration was elected for the first time in 70 years.

Vladimir Movsisyan, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the president of the administrative board of the Armenian Pannational Movement, were the two candidates remaining in the final round from among those proposed at the Armenian Supreme Soviet for the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

In their speeches the deputies underlined the merits, experience, and age of the two candidates. The deputies also examined the views and principles espoused by each of the candidates.

Basic to candidates' program was the political status of our republic. While Vladimir Movsisyan favors autonomy for Armenia within the USSR structure, based on the new Union treaty to be signed, Levon Ter-Petrosyan is struggling for the restoration of our statehood.

On the first day of voting neither of the candidates received a majority. On the second day the deputies approached the situation in a more responsible manner and, believing that Armenia cannot continue with a power vacuum, most of them voted for Levon Ter-Petrosyan, thus electing him chairman of the Armenian republic's Supreme Soviet.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan was born in 1945 in Aleppo, Syria. His parents settled in mother Armenia in 1946. He graduated from the oriental department of the philological faculty of Yerevan State University. He was a graduate student at the Oriental Institute of Leningrad University, specializing in Armenian-Assyrian philology. He defended his dissertation in Leningrad University and received a candidate of science doctorate in philological studies. Later on, he defended his doctorate thesis in the same institute and received the relevant academic rank.

He worked at the Armenian Academy of Sciences literature institute and at the ancient manuscripts institute named after Mesrop Mashdots.

He is the author of six monographs on Armenian-Assyrian cultural relations and on the Armenian state in Cilicia, and of more than 70 scientific articles.

He is a member of the Armenian Writers Union, the association of orientalists in the USSR, and the Franco-Asian Society.

He started his political activities in 1960s. He participated in the student movements and was imprisoned for

10 days in 1966. He began directing the Karabakh Committee of the Matenadaran [ancient manuscripts institute] beginning with February 1988. In May he was elected a member of the Armenian Committee for Karabakh Movement. Together with the other leading strugglers of the movement he served a prison term in Moscow between 10 December 1988 and 31 May 1989. He was elected a member of the Armenian Supreme Soviet presidium in February 1990.

He is married and has a 15-year old son.

Supreme Soviet To Discuss Independence 7 Aug
LD0608222990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2051 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet has been elected at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia. Babken Ararktsyan, representative of the Armenian National Movement, was elected to this post.

Three versions of the declaration of independence for Armenia were also proposed to deputies. They will be examined tomorrow, that is, today [Tuesday, 7 August].

Armenian Attacks on Border Settlements Detailed
NC0608141390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1730 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] According to the information acquired by an AZERINFORM correspondent, the situation in the Azerbaijani rayons bordering the neighboring republic was normal on 3 and 4 August. However, Agayeva, secretary of the Kel'badzharskiy Rayon Party Committee, has said that Armenian terrorists fired on the (?Agadoller) and Kharaderesi farming settlements on 3 August. On the other hand, Mamedov, minister of internal affairs of the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], disclosed that the Armenian bandits opened fire on the residents of the (?Gulluk) border town in Il'ichevskiy Rayon on 2 August. The internal troops of the USSR ministry of internal affairs and the militia units rushed to help. They returned fire and rebuffed the extremists. The special forces units captured four armed Armenian terrorists near Kanlykol on 1 August. The minister said:

In view of the fact that the provocations are continuing without interruption, the people in the autonomous republic have demanded immediate measures aimed at fulfilling the USSR president's decree of 25 July.

Clashes Among Armed Armenian Groups Reported
NC0608142190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1730 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] The situation in the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] continues to become more and more complicated. A group made up of more than 100 armed

men attacked the militia building in Ararat City the night of 2 August. Captain [name indistinct], head of the investigation unit, was killed during the clash which lasted for nearly 30 minutes. A certain (?Tsumbak), who was the head of the group of bandits, was also killed during the clash. Later, a number of armed men forced their way into the building which houses the rayon's committee for state security through the door, messed up the place, and stole arms and secret documents.

Clashes between the groups of bandits continue without interruption. The house of Markaryan, head of one of the groups of bandits in Vostan town, was fired upon with automatic arms, [words indistinct], and (?missile launchers) during a clash between the opposition groups on the night of 2 August. Significant damage was caused to nearby buildings.

Gang Clashes Frequently Occur in Armenia

LD0608141490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Regarding the situation in Armenia, ever more frequently in reports coming from this republic, in addition to the continuing attacks on soldiers and militia workers, clashes between gang formations are mentioned. During these clashes, firearms and grenades are used.

There have been several such exchanges in the republic's capital in recent days. There have been injuries, for example, during a clash near the Sevan Hotel on 3 August. The relations of two armed formations in Artshatskiy Rayon have been becoming clear for a long time. Armed clashes between opposing groups, with submachine-gun fire, howitzers, and mortars, took place in the village of Vostan. Recently there have been more frequent clashes between local gang formations with terrorists arriving from Yerevan.

A fight for power is going on, the right to rule on this or other territory. In the first place, it is the republic's population which suffers because of this; among the victims are women and children. The sad list of dead and injured can be expanded every minute. On 3 August, in the town of Ararat, two bombs were found, moreover one was in a kindergarten. It could have exploded at any time. TASS noted that such a development in the situation should have been expected. Much of the stolen weaponry has found its way into the hands of criminal elements. They are being stored, and not for collections either; they are often used. Local mafiosi have set up their own armed groups and use them to settle accounts with each other. The instability of the situation in the region is very advantageous for them.

As is known, participants in the session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet decided to halt the validity of the USSR presidential decree on the disarmament of illegal armed formations on the republic's territory. This only plays

into the hands of the gang formations, who live according to their own laws and continue to fight among themselves.

Continued Bread Shortage in NKAO Examined

NC0308111090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0600 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Lately difficulties have arisen in bread production in Stepanakert [in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO] due to the lack of flour. The only major bakery there is idle, and other cooperatives producing bread have also remained idle for a long time now.

With a decree on 3 November 1989, the Armenian republic had incorporated Stepanakert bakery into the Bread and Macaroni Production Association belonging to the relevant Armenian ministry. Therefore, this ministry has to solve the issue of providing materials to the bakery. Yet, so far the ministry has not been able to manage this work. Since 1 April of this year, the Stepanakert bakery has been in quandary about who it can get flour from. [Words indistinct] (?there is no more possibility of sending flour from Armenia). The NKAO is refusing to obtain flour allocated by Azerbaijan. On the other hand, Armenia is unable to provide dough. Also, the central authorities do not heed the protests of the NKAO people in this regard. The grain-producing collectives in the NKAO are unable to provide flour to Stepanakert because so far the grain mills cannot meet the demand in the oblast.

President Mutalibov Meets With Journalists

NC0608110190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1730 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, has met with the leading officials of the republic's mass media organs and the special correspondents of the central publications. They exchanged views on many issues, including realization of the decisions adopted by the 28th CPSU Congress and the 32d Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress, the progress of the election campaign in the republic, and the effort made to bring to light the social, political, and economic problems in Azerbaijan. Replies were given to the many questions asked by the journalists.

Tahir Muradaliyev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

President Ayaz Mutalibov's Statement Reported

NC0608140990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1730 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Statement by President Ayaz Mutalibov of Azerbaijan; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Numerous congratulatory letters and telegrams have been addressed to me in connection with my election as the president of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and because of the recent presidential decrees I have issued in connection with improving the material situation of various groups within the republic and fulfilling social tasks. These letters and telegrams have fully welcomed the sociopolitical line that has been adopted.

I express sincere and deep gratitude to the collectives of the establishments, administrations, state and collective farms, scientific and educational institutions, creative organizations, and to individual citizens for congratulating me and for voicing their sincere demands. Taking this opportunity, I wish to note that the work that has been initiated to achieve significant development in the social field will be maintained. Furthermore, I maintain the hope that the effort made to strengthen the unity of our society, reinstate the principles of democracy and national solidarity, and have Azerbaijan develop through democratic and social progress will be widely supported by the workers of the [word indistinct] society in the future as well.

[Signed] President Ayaz Mutaibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo

Curfew Violation Fines Earmarked for Charity

NC0608114190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1730 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Baku City command headquarters has decided to distribute the 8,000 rubles acquired in fines from curfew violators in Baku City to families with many children and to orphans. Colonel Valeriy Bunyatov, Baku City military commandant, has disclosed that plans have also been made to allocate accumulated cash in the rayons' command regions in the same way for charity purposes in the future.

CSFR Trade Mission Begins Operations

LD0708025590 Prague CTK in English 1846 GMT
6 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow Aug 6 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak trade mission, opened in the Azerbaijan capital of Baku recently, aims at transferring Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation from the central bodies to the republic and regional ones.

Especially the petrochemical industry is promising for mutual cooperation, CTK was told here today.

The Czechoslovak party wants to share in the modernization of the light industry enterprises, to start the reconstruction of hotels and to build assembled houses

for the refugees. Czechoslovak businessmen in Azerbaijan have a number of partners which strive for mutually advantageous cooperation.

Czechoslovakia has similar missions also in Kiev, Leningrad and Minsk, which are also in charge of cooperation with the Baltic states. Trade missions are also to be established in Tashkent and Vladivostok.

Transfer of Tbilisi House of Officers Urged

LD0308175190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] There are passions around the House of Officers in Tbilisi. The time limit on the ultimatum given to the government of Georgia by the representatives of a number of informal movements has expired today. The representatives are demanding the transfer of the House of Officers of the Transcaucasian military district from Shota Rustaveli Prospekt to another region. The main theme of their demands is that the entertainment establishment of the officers of the occupation forces be removed from the site where blood was shed during the tragic events of 9 April. During recent times passions around this building have become especially inflamed.

On 18 July a group of informals made an attempt to enter the building, (Nesterovich), the chief of the House of Officers, told a correspondent. Thanks to the measures taken—soldiers were posted inside the building—this was successfully prevented. There is still an armed guard in the House of Officers today since the building is, as before, under the threat of seizure. These threats are not groundless. The stadium of the army sports club of the Transcaucasian military district and one of the buildings of the Tbilisi artillery college have already been seized by the informals. Despite the fact that the House of Officers belongs to the Ministry of Defense and is its property, we are agreed to leave it, (Nesterovich) continued. But under acceptable conditions. It has simply been proposed to us that we leave the building without anything being given in exchange. This does not resolve the issue.

Georgia Amends Decree on Sovereignty

90US1192A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
1 Jul 90 p 1

[Decree of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On the Introduction of Amendments to the 9 March 1990 Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Guarantees for the Defense of the State Sovereignty of Georgia"]

[Text] The Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decrees:

To introduce the following amendments to the 9 March 1990 Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree "On Guarantees for the Defense of the State Sovereignty of Georgia" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA GRUZINSKOY SSR, 1990, No. 3, p 52):

1. After the 10th paragraph, to amend the decree with the following paragraph:

"Noting that the power established in Georgia as the result of intervention and occupation—at first a nonelective power (revolutionary committees), and then limited soviets constructed on a narrow class basis—has not expressed the true, free, and popular will of the Georgian people, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet declares illegal and invalid all acts abolishing political and other institutions of the Democratic Republic of Georgia and replacing them with political and legal institutions which rely on external force (decision of the so-called Revolutionary Committee of Georgia of 16 and 26 February and 24 March 1921, etc.)."

2. At the end, to amend the decree with the following text:

"To begin negotiations between the Georgian SSR and the RSFSR with the goal of establishing fundamentally new relations characteristic of sovereign states, at the basis of which there should be an acknowledgement of the fact of the crude violation by the government of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] in February-March 1921 of the treaty concluded with the Democratic Republic of Georgia on 7 May 1920, as well as an appropriate evaluation by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of its political and legal effects.

"Despite the difficult past and the undisputable fact of the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia with the support of external force, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet takes into consideration political realities, the historical experience of state power, and the fact of the actions in Georgia of perhaps less than democratic but nonetheless elective political institutions and their functioning in the Union political system, which plays a decisive role in the evaluation of a legal basis for the existence of any power. Today only the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet can create and is authorized to create by legal methods all the conditions for the formation in Georgia of genuinely democratic higher and local organs of power constructed on multiparty principles and responsive to the interests of all segments of society and people of all political convictions, which is an indispensable pledge of further steps connected with the restoration of Georgia's state independence.

"The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, deeply acknowledging the great responsibility laid upon it and upon each of its members by the Georgian people at this historical stage that is so decisive for Georgia, calls upon the Georgian people and all people residing in Georgia to achieve by their joint efforts a cherished goal—the restoration of Georgia's state independence."

[Signed] G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
[Dated] Tbilisi, 20 June 1990

Georgia on Legal Base for Independence

90US1192B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
1 Jul 90 p 1

[Decree of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On the Creation of a Legal Mechanism for the Restoration of the State Independence of Georgia"]

[Text] Guided by the imperatives of national sovereignty of the Georgian people and the inviolability of the right of each nation to self-determination which is recognized and guaranteed by the basic principles of current international law, and other norms, including the Statutes of the United Nations, international treaties on human rights, and the concluding and final acts of the Helsinki and Vienna forums;

noting that the Georgian people realized this right by the 26 May 1918 formation of the Democratic Republic of Georgia;

recognizing Georgia's right to restore state independence, which was lost in 1921 as the consequence of a violation by the government of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] of the 7 May 1920 treaty through intervention, occupation, and the virtual annexation of Georgia;

and in view of the fact that the 9 March 1990 decree of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet laid the foundation for the process of restoring Georgia's state independence, which necessitates implementation of effective legal measures and protection of past and future steps toward the achievement of independence,

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

to design a legal mechanism for restoring Georgia's state independence based on the norms of international law.

With this goal, to form a commission of deputies of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet as well as of specialists and representatives of political parties and sociopolitical political organizations and movements and to charge the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with determining the staffing of the commission.

[Signed] G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
[Dated] Tbilisi, 20 June 1990.

Georgian Decree on Associations, Parties

90US1192C Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
1 Jul 90 p 1

[Decree of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On the Draft Law on Public Association of Citizens, Including Political Parties, Mass Movements, Professional and Creative Unions, and Voluntary Societies and Associations"]

[Text] The Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decrees:

To continue work on the draft Law "On Public Association of Citizens, Including Political Parties, Mass Movements, Professional and Creative Unions, and Voluntary Societies and Associations" with the goal of ensuring that the aforementioned Law and the Law "On Elections of Deputies of the Georgian Supreme Soviet" correspond to one another.

[Signed] G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

[Dated] Tbilisi, 20 June 1990

Georgian Decree on Deputy Elections

90US1192E Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
3 Jul 90 p 1

[Decree of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On a Basic Concept of a Law on the Elections of Deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet and on the Designation of Elections of Deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Having examined the basic concept of a law on the elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To charge the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet presidium's commission for preparation of drafts for a Georgian SSR Law on amendments and supplements to the Georgian SSR Constitution (Basic Law), a Georgian SSR Law on elections of deputies to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, and a Georgian SSR Law on elections of deputies to the local Georgian SSR Congresses of People's Deputies to work together with political parties, sociopolitical organizations, and mass movements to prepare within a month's time for examination and adoption a draft Law on Elections of Deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

2. To found the draft Law on Elections of Deputies to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet on multiparty elections responsive to majority and proportional electoral systems.

3. To designate elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet for Sunday, 28 October 1990.

[Signed] G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium,

V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

[Dated] Tbilisi, 20 June 1990

Georgian Decree Invalidates USSR Laws

90US1192D Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
3 Jul 90 p 1

[Decree of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On an Evaluation of a Number of USSR Laws on the Basis of Article 77 of the Georgian SSR Constitution"]

[Text] Guided by the need to protect the sovereignty of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and by the task of restoring Georgia's state independence and in correspondence with Article 77 of the Georgian SSR Constitution, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To acknowledge that USSR laws on a procedure for deciding questions relating to the withdrawal of a Union republic from the USSR, on the division of authority between the Union and subjects of the federation, on the foundations of economic relations, on property, and on the legal system of an emergency situation, as well as USSR laws relating to income taxes, do not correspond to the interests of the Georgian SSR.

2. That the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet presidium and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers will be guided by this decree in their activities.

[Signed] G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

[Dated] Tbilisi, 20 June 1990

Central Asia

Kazakh Oblast Elects New Leader 28 Jul

LD0508193490 Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK
QAZAQHSTAN in Kazakh 28 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] A session of the Dzhambul Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has been held, which examined an organizational matter. The session elected U. Daygeldiyev, first secretary of the oblast party committee, as chairman of the oblast soviet. V.F. Chernov was approved as chairman of the oblast executive committee.

Tuberculosis, Brucellosis 'Epidemic' on Farms

PM0608203790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Report by D. Baimbetov, L. Kozlov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Kazakhstan is the country's third largest meat producer. It produces 1.6 million tonnes dressed weight. But the editorial office has received the following alert from the republic. Currently 300,000 head of cattle in Kazakhstan are sick. The local milk is dangerous to people's health. How is the republic combating our common—everyone is a consumer—our common problem?

[Reporter] [video shows shots of herd of cows] North Kazakhstan Oblast has today become the center of an epidemic afflicting the country's livestock. The oblast's state and collective farms have more than 30 percent of the number of cattle suffering from tuberculosis and brucellosis in the USSR and around 70 percent of affected cattle in the republic. The explanation is very simple. For dozens of years the republic has not devoted the proper attention to the elementary upkeep of cattle sheds. Livestock feeding conditions during all these years were even worse. The feed base steadily deteriorated. The food products produced by dairy farms in Kazakhstan's northernmost oblast have become unsafe. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Update in Osh Oblast Situation

'Safely Under Control'

PM0608152390 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Major General A. Filistovich, chief of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Tactical Task Force, by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka; place and date not given: "Osh Oblast: The Political Situation. In Hope of Mutual Understanding"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Semenyaka] Are there enough men, equipment, and weapons at present to prevent breaches of the law when necessary?

[Filistovich] Yes, we have sufficient men, equipment, and weapons. We have the situation in Osh City and Osh Oblast safely under control. We react promptly to all changes in the situation. It is sometimes explosive, particularly at nighttime. Thus, last night alone troop detachments came under bombardment from unknown persons on two occasions. No Internal Troops servicemen have suffered trauma or injury.

[Semenyaka] The local press reported that Internal Troops soldiers were involved in the tragic incident at the "Osh" tourist center on 21 July, as a result of which a young civilian died. What can you say about that?

[Filistovich] That day a group of young Kirghiz nationals, flagrantly in breach of the oblast commandant's order, blocked municipal and public transport. They issued an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the troops from the city. Individual young people verbally insulted and stoned servicemen.

The mob did not react properly to our appeals for reason, our frequent demands that they disperse, and warnings about the use of special means. Moreover, they became increasingly aggressive. In these conditions we were forced to use special means. At the end of our operations neither I, nor the officers, nor the enlisted men were in possession of information that the offenders' health had suffered damage. It later became known that one man had allegedly died as a result of this.

This news naturally worried us. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in this case, and an investigation is under way.

[Semenyaka] How, in your view, is the up-to-the-minute situation taking shape to date?

[Filistovich] It is becoming increasingly stable. After analyzing the situation and numerous appeals from labor collectives, the oblast commandant issued an order reducing the duration of the curfew during the agricultural work season. It has been decided to lift the curfew in Sulyukta City and Toktogulskiy Rayon. It has been reduced in 30 agricultural areas and Tash-Kumyr City, and is now in force from 2300 to 0500. It remains unchanged in Osh City.

Entrance examinations to educational establishments have started in the oblast center and other cities.

Some 12 firearms (the total is now 1,838) were confiscated in the oblast in the last 24 hours, along with 10 gasoline bombs. Some 185 people have been arrested for curfew violations. Of them 14 have been put under administrative arrest, 95 have been given varying fines, and the rest have been given warnings.

Tension Eases in South

LD0608122890 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Tension is easing in the south of Kirghizia where over 200 people died in mass disorders in the Osh region.

According to an official report, disorders broke out when plots of land were distributed among the Uzbeks and the Kirghiz. However, the authorities in that Central Asian republic now admit that the unrest was more deep-rooted. They are the unsettled social and economic problems and errors in the nationalities policy.

'No Serious Changes'

LD0608161790 Frunze Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] The situation in Osh Oblast: Over the past 24 hours there have been no serious changes in the situation. In Osh and the rayons of the oblast, life is returning to normal. In Mayli-Say, an attempt to hold unauthorized meetings in two places has been thwarted. Taking part in explanatory and preventative work were Abdu-rakhmanov, head of the internal affairs administration of the Osh Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, (Abdu-raimov), oblast deputy procurator, Sydykov, secretary of the town party committee, and (?Maskulo), chairman of the town soviet executive committee. On the territory of the Karl Marx collective farm, adjoining Mayli-Say, Leninskiy Rayon, five activists of the committee for organizing meetings have been detained and brought to administrative account. Over the past 24 hours, 38 crimes and incidents have been registered in the oblast, including two bodily injuries, four cases of hooliganism,

23 thefts—19 of which were committed, as it turned out, during the period of the mass disorders in Uzgen—six road accidents, and others. In the oblast centre of Ismaylov, a technician at the Osh municipal hospital fired a home-made pistol at the wall in the apartment of his neighbor (?Razmatov), and has been detained; the pistol has been confiscated and an investigation is being carried out.

The number of fatalities during the period of mass disorders, and of injured and hospitalized, has not altered; 88 missing persons are being sought. A further report adds that over the past 24 hours in the oblast, three firearms have been confiscated, 1,246 private homes have been searched, 67 passport offenders have been apprehended and brought to administrative account, and 95 people have been detained for breaching the curfew, six of whom have been placed under administrative arrest, 65 fined, and the rest warned.

Uzbek Party Plenary Meeting Held 3 Aug

Karimov Speaks

LD0308215790 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 3 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent August 3 TASS—The 22nd Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party, held last June, will be continued in December. This decision was taken on Friday at a plenary meeting of the party Central Committee.

The congress will discuss a new status of the Uzbek Communist Party. A draft status, to be worked out by a special commission, will be discussed by all communists of the republic.

The plenary meeting was addressed by Islam Karimov, Uzbek Communist Party leader and member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. He spoke about the results of the 28th CPSU Congress and the policy to be pursued by the Uzbek Communist Party in new conditions.

The political report and the documents adopted by the congress stressed that each republic should be a sovereign state, Karimov said. It fully possesses, manages and uses all production, natural and raw materials resources on its territory, resolves independently political, economic and cultural problems, with the exception of those voluntarily delegates to the centre.

Those theoretical provisions will have to be filled with concrete meaning in the near future, Karimov believes. The concluding of a new Union treaty is the way to it. It should be prepared both from above—by the central Union authorities, and from below—by the Union republics. In the opinion of Karimov, priority should be given to the Union republics. The people of each

republic should decide by themselves on what terms they agree to join the Soviet Federation.

Political sovereignty envisages independence and equal rights of communist parties of the Union republics. Karimov supported the idea of the Communist Party being a Union of communist parties of the republics with a common programme, the rules and the Central Committee. He strongly opposed the split of the Communist Party.

The plenary meeting created a commission to work out a programme of actions of the Uzbek Communist Party.

Organization Discussed

LD0508143790 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0100 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Excerpts] On August 3, the second plenum of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee was held. Karimov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Central Committee, and president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, delivered a speech on the results of the 28th CPSU Congress and the main direction and activities of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. [passage omitted]

At the plenum the compositions of the commissions of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee on organizational, party, ideological, and cadre work on questions of socioeconomic and agrarian policy were confirmed. The commission for legal questions was changed to the commission of Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee on questions of interethnic relations and legal questions and confirmed. [passage omitted]

At the plenum, organizational questions were also examined. The plenum accepted the requests of Mamasulov, the first secretary of the Tashkent Oblast party committee, on relieving him of duty as member of the bureau and as member of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, Abdurakhmanov, Berdiyev, Yadgarov, first secretaries of Samarkand, Surkhan Darya, and Bukhara Oblast party committees of their duty as members of the Central Committee in line with the 11th paragraph of the CPSU rules, according to which a member of the party cannot stand in more than two party committees. At the 28th CPSU Congress, Mamasulov, Abdurakhmanov, Berdiyev, and Yadgarov were elected members of the CPSU Central Committee. At the plenum [first name indistinct] Khashimov, chief editor of the journal SHARQ YUL-DUZI, was elected member of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee bureau. [passage omitted]

'Priority Concerns' Viewed

LD0408200690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] A plenum of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee has been held in Tashkent. Our correspondent, Enney Davshan, reports:

[Davshan] A long and very committed conversation took place about the priority concerns of the republican party organization and how to cope with distortions in economic development engendered by the command bureaucracy system, the consequences of which—it must be said outright—have been the meagre existence of a majority of the population and an upsurge of ethnic tension. The plenum adopted a whole series of very important decisions based on the political tenets of the 28th CPSU Congress. A program of action for the Communist Party of Uzbekistan—for political and economic sovereignty, spiritual renewal, social justice, and worthy conditions of life for the population of the republic—is to be developed, in particular. The plenum turned the Central Committee Commission for Legal Affairs into the Commission on the Problems of Relations Between the Nationalities and on Legal Affairs.

There is no need to list all the decisions adopted at the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee plenum. In a brief interview with our correspondent, Karimov, leader of the republic's communists, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, and president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, described the main concern as follows:

[Begin Karimov recording] In my opinion, the unusual and—let us say—extraordinary nature of the measures we have to take lies in making each communist understand the meaning and consequences of the decisions adopted at the congress. These are matters of the independence of the Communist Party, of the independence—above all—of the primary party organizations, of the independence and sovereignty of the republic, and many other issues.

It is my belief that any choice should be determined, above all, by an analysis of what it would lead to, whether it is useful to our people in our conditions, or whether it will lead to still more destructive results. Will it provide an opportunity to escape today from the crisis situation in which our entire society finds itself? Will it provide an opportunity for tackling the very serious issues of life in Uzbekistan, primarily the social situation of the countryside and the social situation of the less well-off? Will a stage-by-stage transition to the market resolve these issues, and indeed, will this market we talk so much about provide an opportunity for alleviating the burden of people's lives? Will we be able to persuade people that this is the only option? All these matters are interlinked. There is only one thing to which I am opposed: political statements sometimes are exaggerated

and people forget that political ambitions built on water rather than on economic calculations are worthless.

In Uzbekistan's conditions what is most important today is to gain economic sovereignty above all, while political sovereignty will be built only upon economic sovereignty. To be able to reach an agreement with the communists on this, to persuade them, is I think the main task of the plenum. [end recording]

CPSU Congress Criticized

PM0608084390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Andrey Orlov: "Central Committee Commissions Set Up"]

[Text] Tashkent—Criticism of the 28th CPSU Congress was voiced at the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

Noting the positive importance of the congress, I. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, said in particular: "We are dissatisfied with the streamlined, smooth assessments made in the Political Report and Politburo members' reports on the problems of interethnic relations... The congress devoted insufficient attention to questions of the party's relations with various social organizations and informal movements... Such an important problem as collaboration between the party and the soviets was mentioned only vaguely at the congress."

The plenum set up a working commission to draft the Uzbek Communist Party action program "For Political and Economic Sovereignty, Spiritual Renewal, Social Justice, and Worthy Living Conditions for the Uzbek Population." A working commission was also set up to elaborate a draft on the status of the Uzbek Communist Party.

It was decided to set up another two Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee commissions—on collaboration with sociopolitical organizations and movements, and on youth policy questions.

The plenum discussed ideological work and the mass media. The report stated: "We should also clearly determine our position as regards publishing in Tashkent a number of publications whose editorial offices are outside the republic. We consider it impermissible for the Communist Party's printing equipment to be used to print publications attacking the CPSU or contravening the people's spiritual and moral values and traditions."

Reportage on Uzbek Reaction to Weapons Decree**Uzbek Adopt Resolution**

PM0508200490 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Aug 90 First Edition p 4

[KRSNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Astafyev report "From Tashkent" under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Against Armed Crime"]

[Text] Yesterday the republic's PRAVDA VOSTOKA published a report saying that the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution aimed at implementing the USSR president's decree "On Banning the Creation of Armed Formations for Which USSR Legislation Makes No Provision and Confiscating Illegal Stores of Weapons."

The resolution talks about the immediate implementation of the necessary measures, which preclude the illegal manufacture, negligent storage, and loss of weapons, combat munitions, explosives, combat hardware, and other military property. It notes the need to establish strict control at all enterprises and suppress attempts to manufacture side arms, firearms, munitions, and other weaponry.

Local ispolkoms [executive committees] and Uzbek SSR ministries and departments have been instructed to immediately embark on the work of explaining the demands of the USSR president's decree at labor collectives, educational establishments, and places of residence. They are to set up special groups which must be headed in person by the leaders of soviet organs, enterprises, institutes, educational establishments, and public organizations in order to conduct explanatory work and avert conflict situations.

A commentary on the resolution notes that thefts of weapons and munitions have become more frequent in the republic of late. At present 254 weapons are missing. This year 3,685 firearms of various kinds and a large quantity of ammunition have been confiscated and voluntarily handed over. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against several people for thefts of weapons and munitions. Many people have incurred various penalties for the illegal acquisition, sale, manufacture, and carrying of weapons, munitions, and explosives. At the same time during the first six months of this year alone 130 crimes were committed in the republic using weapons.

It goes on to say that everyone is aware that individual representatives of informal associations are inciting servicemen to desert from the Army, thus creating conditions to fuel the already complex sociopolitical and criminal situation.

Further on Decree

PM0408194890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[A. Kaipbergenov report from "Our Correspondents Report" feature, under general heading "How Disarmament Is Going: Latest News From...": "...Uzbekistan"]

[Text] As of today 254 items of weaponry are missing here, PRAVDA correspondent A. Kaipbergenov reported. In the first half of the year alone, 130 crimes were committed involving weapons. Because of the irresponsible attitude toward the storage and use of weapons and ammunition, instances of their being seized have become more frequent.

This is stated in an Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers resolution on implementing the USSR President's Decree "On Banning the Creation of Armed Formations Not Authorized Under USSR Legislation and Confiscating Weapons in Instances of Unlawful Possession." The republic government resolution makes provision for weapons to be transferred from educational establishments to units of the Turkestan Military District for temporary storage. The sale of hunting rifles is suspended pending a special directive. Publicity work among the population is to be carried out by special groups which are being set up, which will be headed by leaders of soviet organs, enterprises, institutions, and educational establishments.

Uzbekistan Trade Union Council Holds Plenum

LD0508104190 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek
0100 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Excerpt] On 4 August, a plenum of the Uzbekistan Council of professional Trade Unions was held in Tashkent. Organizational questions were examined. Alimov was freed from duty as chairman of the Uzbekistan Council of Trade Unions due to transfer to other work. Allamuradov, who was first secretary of the Namangan Oblast party committee, was elected as chairman of the Uzbekistan Council of Trade Unions. [passage omitted]

New Video Channel on Uzbek Television

LD0608162790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1530 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] A new video channel has started working on Uzbek television—Dustlik, or, Friendship [druzhba]. The first broadcast lasted five hours and included video subjects on the life and problems of representatives of a number of nationalities living in Uzbekistan—Uygurs, Koreans, Tatars, Tajiks, and Kazakhs.